THE GRAVE GOODS OF ROMAN HIERAPOLIS

AN ANALYSIS OF THE FINDS FROM FOUR MULTIPLE BURIAL TOMBS

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ABSTRACT

The Hellenistic and Roman city of Hierapolis in Phrygia, South-Western Asia Minor, boasts one of the largest necropoleis known from the Roman world. While the grave monuments have seen long-lasting interest, few funerary contexts have been subject to excavation and publication. The present study analyses the artefact finds from four tombs, investigating the context of grave gifts and funerary practices with focus on the Roman imperial period. It considers to what extent the finds influence and reflect varying identities of Hierapolitan individuals over time.

Combined, the tombs use cover more than 1500 years, paralleling the life-span of the city itself. Although the material is far too small to give a conclusive view of funerary assemblages in Hierapolis, the attempted close study and contextual integration of the objects does yield some results with implications for further studies of funerary contexts on the site and in the wider region.

The use of standard grave goods items, such as unguentaria, lamps and coins, is found to peak in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Clay unguentaria were used alongside glass ones more than a century longer than what is usually seen outside of Asia Minor, and this period saw the development of new forms, partially resembling Hellenistic types. Some burials did not include any grave gifts, and none were extraordinarily rich, pointing towards a standardised, minimalistic set of funerary objects.

Evidence of Pagan, Jewish and Christian burials is found not to be visible in the grave gifts of the Roman period. Also aspects of social status, and local or ethnic identity are only scarcely attested. Individual and group identities seem to be manifest in tomb monuments and inscriptions, rather than in objects involved in funerary rites. The consequence of this is a material that is largely "Roman".

TÜRK ÖZET

Güney-Batı Anadolu'da bulunan Helenistik ve Roma Şehri Frigya, Roma dünyasında, bilinen en büyük Nekropollerden birisidir. Mezar anıtları, uzun süreli ilgi gördüğü için, birkaç mezar içerikleri kazı ve yayınlara konu olmuştur. Bu çalışma Roma İmparatorluk dönemine odaklanarak, dört mezarda bulunan eserleri, mezar hediyelerini ve Cenaze Töreni uygulamalari. Bu bulguların Hieropolitan bireylerin degişen kişiliklerini nasıl yansıttıklarını ve ne şekilde onları etkilediklerini dikkate alır.

Aynı zamanda mezar kullanımi ve bununla birlikte şehrin ömrü 1500 yıldan fazla bir süreyi kapsar. Elimizde bulunan malzemenin Hieropolis mezar toplulukları hakkında kesin bir görünüm vermesi için çok az olmasına rağmen,bu çalışma ve nesnelerin bağlamsal entegrasyonu, araştırma bölgesi ve daha geniş bölgelerde ileri mezar çalışmaları için getiri sağlayacaktır.

Unguentarium, lamba ve sikke gibi standart esyaların mezarlarda kullanılması özellikle MS 1. ve 2. yüzyıllarda daha çok popüler olmuştur. Kil ve cam unguentariumlar Güney-Batı Anadolu dışında görülen örneklerin aksine yüzyılı aşkın bir süre kullanılmıştır. Bu süreç içerisinde bazıları Helenistik türleri andıran yeni formlar da ortaya çıkmıştır. Bazı mezarlarda, herhangi bir mezar hediyesi bulunmamıştır, ve oldukça zengin olmamakla birlikte standart, minimalist mezar nesneleri içermektedirler.

Pagan, Yahudi ve Hıristiyan mezarlarının örnekleri Roma dönemine ait mezar hediyeleri arasinda bulunmamıştır. Ayrıca sosyal statü, yerel veya etnik kimliğin etkileri oldukça az görülmüştür. Bireysel ve grup kimlikleri, mezar içerisinde bulunan objeler yerine mezar anıtları ve yazıtları üzerinde konu edilmiştir. Bunun sonucu eserlerin büyük ölçüde "Romalılara" ait olmasıdır.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Research on graves and burial practices has a long history in the field of classical archaeology. Major fundamental works have been written by some of the discipline's largest profiles, such as Toynbee's *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Toynbee 1971) and Kurtz and Boardman's *Greek Burial Customs* (Kurtz and Boardman 1971). Later, there has been a stronger focus on the social dimensions of the funerary rites, attempting to use the material to interpret the societies of the living (Laneri 2007:1–2). In the research on Roman burials and funerary rites, however, this has predominantly dealt with the western provinces (see e.g. the voluminous bibliography in Martin-Kilcher 2008:26–27)(see e.g. the bibliography in Martin-Kilcher 2008:26–27).

The present study is an attempt at analysing the situation in Hierapolis in Phrygia, with a focus on the first two centuries after Christ. It is borne out of the Norwegian research project in the East Necropolis, but additionally relies on the results of recent excavations in the North Necropolis. In the frame of the project "Thanatos: Dead Bodies - Live Data", supported by the *Norwegian Research Council*, a team from the *University of Oslo* has carried out excavations concentrated around a cluster of 1st to 3rd century AD saddle-roofed tombs and sarcophagi. The project combines material studies, osteo-archaeological analysis and ancient-DNA extraction with the aim of gaining insight into the societal and social developments in the city over an extended period of time. I have participated in the last two field seasons, with a particular focus on pottery analysis and finds photography. This work has also benefited from close cooperation with Caroline Laforest of the Universities of Bordeaux and Salento, who is excavating the hypogeum chamber of a 1st century tomb in the North Necropolis. The material from that excavation has been made available for study.

Although the necropoleis of Hierapolis have attracted attention since the late 17th century, very little has been excavated and published according to present-day standards. In addition to the two projects already mentioned, I am only aware of one more recent, well-documented excavation. This one, however, revealed an extraordinary context – the burial chamber of a Hellenistic and early Roman tumulus in the North Necropolis, sealed and hidden by a large earthquake in 60 AD. These investigations were conducted by *Denizli Museum* in 2001 and presented in a Master's thesis by one of the participating students, Mehmet Okunak, in 2005. This situation largely mirrors the stand in the funerary archaeology of Asia Minor, where investigations of burial practices have relied heavily on architectural and epigraphic evidence, and where publication of the few necropoleis subject to extensive excavation have been overly descriptive (Laforest et al.:1; Krsmanovic and Anderson 2012:58).

These three excavations, or rather, the objects from these three, form the basis of my thesis. The progressing, but overlapping time spans they cover should provide material for a chronology of grave goods in Hierapolis, allow me to discuss changes in (the material evidence for) funerary customs, and let me place Hierapolis in a wider Roman context. The grave goods considered in this study do not include all objects found in the tombs, but those we assume to have been "deliberately chosen to accompany the dead on the journey to the Underworld" (Alcock 1980:56). The main artefact classes of interest are the clay (and glass) unguentaria, the lamps, coins and golden earrings, which will play important roles in the discussion on grave goods. This means that especially, not all personal belongings have been taken into account.

The long use lives of the communal tombs in Hierapolis makes them well-suited to study the patterns of change and continuity mentioned above. The religious diversity of the city, with a vibrant Jewish community and an early-on considerable Christian presence concurrent with the Greco-Roman cultic centre, is mirrored in the use of the tombs. This thesis will investigate to what extent political developments and religious differences are reflected in the grave goods. This includes such diverging intersecting markers of communal belonging as religious, social, civic, and "ethnic" identity.

2 Methodological and Theoretical Considerations

Induction might well be a myth, but Popperian hypothetico-deductionism is not the perfect solution for archaeological research either. This criticism is not limited to New Archaology's positivist programme; it is, I argue, valid for more recent trends in archaeological theory, too. Also the danger of being too focused on a theoretical approach is exposed to the *interpretive dilemma* ("the interpretive dilemma raised to a second order" Wylie 2002:121): if the framework for interpretation of the selected material is set before the study begins, the defining features and possible outcomes are pre-determined and risk constraining and controlling the results. Hence, rather than starting out with a ready-made hypothesis built on an overarching theoretical framework which is put to the test on the archaeological material, this work aims at employing a bottom-up approach, taking the close study of objects as a starting-point.

This is not to say that archaeological theory and explanatory models are not seen as useful; such concepts are our *best bets* at explaining and understanding the finds. Indeed, this chapter is a necessary prerequisite for the overall argument of the work, and theoretical considerations will be incorporated in the discussions where needed; however, these should serve as tools for the material analysis, rather than constituting an end *an sich* (cf. Johnson 1999:25–27).

A consequence of this is the risk of making excessive use of the archaeologists' best friend – the term *context*. As demonstrated by Hodder (1991:122–155), a contextual approach may involve many levels of contextualisation (see also Lynch 2011:1–2). The fundamental one is to analyse the objects in relation to the place in which they are found, and their surroundings, and further, to see the finds in connection with each other, as part of an assemblage. In addition to the

archaeological contexts, there is also the broader *social context* (Whitley 1994:52): the assemblages and find situations can help to understand social behaviour and processes of the communities in which they came into being and had their use life. Seeing material culture, human beings and social structures as interwoven, *contexted*, also means seeing them as potential sources of information about each other.

2.1 Whose agency

The dead, of course, do not bury themselves, and it has been argued that the burial and its remains do not reflect the will and ideas of the deceased, but of those carrying out the funerary practices. As Morris (Morris 1992:108) puts it, "[w]hat we find is determined by the actors in ancient rituals, who put objects into graves because it seemed like a good idea at the time". This, however, is not quite accurate either; ascribing the agency to a single person or group of actors cannot adequately represent the complexity of the influences involved in forming the action. Although dead, the perceived will, or the *personhood*, of the deceased still affects the behaviour of the living, as do social relations, religious and political beliefs, physical and technological constraints, etc. The processes generating the archaeological remains can be seen as a result of the agency created by these human, material and structural actors in combination (cf. the *acteur reseau*/actor-network in Latour 2005).

In much the same way that texts are not simply inert representations of the author's mind, artefacts are not merely a mirror of the craftsman's ideas. Both are formed in the wake of constraining and enabling factors influencing their creators, and both go on to influence their surroundings, thus forming a dialectical relationship with human actors, not unlike the conceptual pair of structured/structuring in Bourdieusian terminology (“ ... the things that people make, make people” in Miller 2005:38). Being active, the written and material sources are not just lenses through which we can investigate the context, but were (and are) themselves active parts of the context (cf. Neer 2002:23–26).

A particular position in the wider funerary assemblage is taken up by the epigraphic material, as a hybrid in the middle between *things* and *texts*. While keeping the immaterial properties of texts, they also have an inherent materiality as physical part of a monument, and are inextricably bound to the grave context (cf. Taylor 2008:304–305). Together with the other *actants* of the tomb, the inscriptions have exerted agency towards users and passers-by throughout the life of the tombs, and constitute thus an important part of the analysis of the archaeological material.

2.2 Which Identities

Identity, or *identities*, is a key concept in the study of social relationships. The term is fundamentally relational; any experience or expression of identity is dependent on the *other,* either as an individual or as a group. Thus, it is also diverse and fluid, formed within the context of the individual's overlapping social relationships - its expression is changing in confrontation with different *others* (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005). Further, and perhaps most importantly, identity is perceived and exhibited on a personal level, by each individual.

Burial assemblages are seen as useful for the study of construction, negotiation and display of identities; the arena's social significance and the graveness of the situation often produces clear manifestations of identity, potentially through deliberate *code-switching* (in the sense used by Wallace-Hadrill 2008a) in the material culture (e.g. Petersen 2013). The artefacts are thus important because they take part in forming the ritual – they are actors in the network forming the agency of the rite. Still, rituals do not carry an innate meaning, "the meanings attached to ritual are context specific and change over time" (Thomas 2005:282), so identifying ritual practices are not in itself sufficient to analyse underlying beliefs and social relations.

2.3 Summing up

It is a fundamental challenge in classical archaeology to bring together the material record, ancient literary sources, and modern sociological models in a meaningful way, extracting information by use of all three. The wealth of sources and the discipline's long and close relationship with the other branches of Classics have contributed to the position of *Classical Archaeology* as set apart from a general *archaeology of the classical world* (cf. Millett 2007:30–31). This is worth preserving, since it gives a broader basis for the understanding of the societies we study than otherwise attainable, but isolation from the methodological developments in other areas of archaeology and social sciences would be equally damaging. In a contextual approach, it must be a goal to collect data from as many available sources as possible, even when it means to go off the beaten path of disciplinary and methodological distinctions (Johnson 1999:31–34).

The excavated material from a handful of tombs in a mid-sized provincial city can clearly not be used to draw broad conclusions on Roman burial rites. This work is not even a fully representative survey of the complete grave corpus from Hierapolis. While such an approach can be worthwhile where the material basis is present (e.g. in the case of the necropolis of Laodikeia published by Şimşek et al. 2011), it would not be possible with the available material from Hierapolis. Rather, the selected tombs can be seen as a case study for extracting concentrated

information on the grave goods and combining this with contextual documentation in an attempt to investigate relations between human, material and immaterial actants taking part in ritual practice.

3 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Hierapolis and her surroundings

Figur 1: Sites mentioned in the text (Map based on AWMC 2014(cc-by-nc)).

3.1.1 Topography

Hierapolis lies on the eastern slopes of the Lycus valley in the south-western parts of ancient Phrygia, close to neighbouring Lydia, Caria and Lycia. To the west, the Meander river leads to the

Ionian coast and the cities of Miletus, Priene and Ephesus, while a northern road (cf. Tab.Peut. IX 5) goes through nearby Tripolis to Philadelphia and Sardis. Immediately south of Hierapolis on the Lycus valley plain, Laodikeia and Collossai constitute a crossroads of Western Anatolian communications, with further roads leading south to Perge and the Mediterranean coast, and east towards Central Anatolia and Mesopotamia (David Magie 1950:128).

The plateau creating the city's fundament at 350-400 masl is shaped by deposits from calcareous hot springs (D'Andria 2001:97–99). The geothermal springs are still active, and responsible for the characteristic bright white basins and formations leading to the modern town being named Pamukkale – the Cotton Castle. Carbon dioxide is emitted in connection with the carbonated water, and can in low-lying, poorly ventilated areas reach fatal concentrations. These "vents of poisonous gases" were the basis for a chthonic cult, initially around Cybele, later focusing on Apollo, which is probably the origin of Hierapolis (David Magie 1950:127–128).

These seismic activities are due to a fault line[1] runningright below the city for more than a kilometre, applying NE-SW horizontal stretching to the area (Hancock and Altunel 1997:24–26). In addition to hot springs and gas vents, the tectonic conditions are also responsible for more destructive elements: the region has a high risk of earthquakes, as noted already by Strabo [12.8.17], and many have hit Hierapolis directly, causing severe damage and shaping the settlement (Hancock and Altunel 1997). Ironically, the Roman city's main street follows an north-west/south-east axis along the plateau for about a kilometre exactly above the fault line.

In 1988 the site was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List on the basis of criteria III and IV, with emphasis on the extraordinary natural conditions, the Greco-Roman thermal installations, and the Christian monuments (ICOMOS 1988).

3.1.2 Pre-Roman settlement

The oldest phase of occupation on the site of Hierapolis is only documented by pre-Hellenistic sherds of pottery (Corritore 2009:4). From the Hellenistic period, there is little architectural evidence within the city, but some numismatic, epigraphic and ceramic (D'Andria 2001; Travaglini and Camilleri 2010:6–8; Corritore 2009:4–6). The oldest tombs of the North Necropolis, however, date back to the 3rd century BC (Okunak 2005:13).

[1] The *Hierapolis fault zone*, part of the Aegean extensional province between the African and Eurasian plates.

The foundation of the city possibly followed the pattern of Laodikeia, as a colony set up by the Seleucid empire in the 3rd century BC (Ritti et al. 2007:598; Okunak 2005:62; cf. David Magie 1950:127–128). In the aftermath of the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC, Antiochus III was forced to give up large areas in western Anatolia to the Roman allies; this included the Lycos valley, which was transferred to the Kingdom of Pergamon (Livy AUC 37 55.5-6, 38 38). Hierapolis remained under Attalid control until the death of Attalus III in 133 BC and the subsequent hereditary transfer of the kingdom to Rome, forming the province of Asia (Strabo 13.4.1-2). In this period, the settlement grew and developed its polis-like structures (Armstrong 1998:39; David Magie 1950:128).

The cult area and its deadly vapours that probably originated as a place of worship for the Phrygian mother/earth deity Cybele later became associated with the Greek Underworld, and were called Plutonium or Charonion. Although the main temple connected with the Plutonium-cave was laid out in the Early Empire, its dedication to Apollo Archegetes points back to the Hellenistic roots, and a probable oracular tradition (Huttner 2013:44–48).

3.1.3 The Roman City

Strabo, in the beginning of the 1st century AD, includes a passage on Hierapolis in his geography (Strabo Geo. 13.4.14). He shows particular interest in the hot springs and the water's ability to build stone fences[2], and in the Plutonium. Animals, he writes, are sacrificed by being led into the poisonous vapours of the Plutonium cave, and the sacrifices are led by *galli*, eunuch priests of Cybele capable of surviving the gasses. Later, the gas vent and the cult surrounding it are also commented on by Pliny (Nat.Hist. 2.95) and Cassius Dio (68.27.3).

Hierapolis may have felt *the great Lydian earthquake* in 17 AD (Tac. Ann. 2.47), or other regional tremors in the early Roman period (Romeo 2011:208), but the large destruction came in 60 AD. After the earthquake, much of the city was redesigned, and the new buildings were laid out in long rectangular *insulae* according to the city plan still recognizable today (D'Andria 2001:99). Under the auspices of the Flavian proconsul Sextus Iulius Frontinus, a monumental gate was built at the northern edge of the city, and the adjacent part of the main street was extended and framed by a Doric colonnade (ibid.).

[2] cf. the petrified water channels described by Hancock and Altunel (1997:23–24) growing up to ten metres in height through precipitation of calcium carbonate from streams of spring water.

The city further prospered in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, in part due to imperial privileges such as certain tax exemptions under Hadrian and the *neokoros* status during the rule of Elagabalus, and witnessed increased monumentalisation: A 4.8 hectare agora with associated buildings, a bath complex, and a large *nymphaeum*, all of which were situated in the northern part, close to the buildings of Frontinius, were built. Also the main theatre received a major upgrade. (D'Andria 2001:104)

A flourishing textile production, centred on the processing and dying of wool, constituted the city's main economical basis, and was heavily geared towards exports (Thonemann 2011:186–188). The epigraphic evidence show that craftsmen organised in associations or guilds, which were taking active part in the public (and private) social life of the city (Arnaoutoglou 2011:10–11; Harland 2006:235–237). In this period, Hierapolis also had vibrant Jewish and emerging Christian communities (Miranda 1999).

3.1.4 Hierapolis in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine periods

An earthquake in the late fourth century severely damaged the city, and brought down many of the larger monuments. Instead of reconstructing them, the earlier agora was now turned into an industrial area with lime kilns, used to burn lime from the marble decorations, and pottery workshops and kilns. In the last part of the century, probably answering Theodosius' call for stronger local fortifications, a city wall was built, excluding the agora, and also using many spolia from it. Inside the walls, however, the settlement continued to follow the old city plan. Houses were restored, new public baths were built, and several churches were founded. (Arthur 2012:278; D'Andria 2001)

In the early church, Hierapolis was overshadowed by neighbouring Laodikeia, with notable exceptions in the deacon Philip, the bishops Papias and Claudius Apollinaris – the latter a prolific writer (Bruce 1984:11; Huttner 2013:189–195). Later, however, it acquired the status of *metropolis* for *Phrygia Pacatiana secunda* (535 AD). A successful transformation took place: from holding the seat of the ancient pagan oracle in connection with the Plutonium, the city adapted to the new religious situation and turned into a Christian place of pilgrimage centred around the martyrion of St. Philip (Arthur 2012:278–279). The success must have been boosted by Eusebius (Church History 3:31) identifying Philip as both the evangelist (cf. Acts 21.8-9) and the apostle, and confirming that he and his four daughter prophetesses had their tomb in Hierapolis. In the early fifth century, a larger complex was erected around the Philip-cult: A basilica was built around a house tomb in the East Necropolis, likely to have been identified with that of St. Philip, and an extraordinary domed, octagonal martyrion was constructed north of this, with an elaborate road leading up to the area from the city (D'Andria and Gümgüm 2010; D'Andria

2012). The establishment of the Christian pilgrimage site could have followed the assumedly Christian destruction and filling-in of the Plutonium (Armstrong 1998:41)). Other important churches were located inside the walls, notably the large, finely decorated Cathedral from the 5th or 6th century, and the Pier Church dating to the first half of the 6th century, both located on the central Frontinus street (D'Andria 2001:112).

Yet another powerful earthquake, probably in the reign of Heraclius (610-641), marks the end of Hierapolis as an urban centre. Around the turn of the 8th century, minor private houses are built in previous public areas and partly blocking the main street, and in the 9th to 10th century chapels or small churches are being built inside the ruins of old churches (Arthur 2012:280–281). Pottery production, however, continues, and there are traces of olive oil production; at this stage we must speak of a rural settlement rather than a city (Cottica 2005; Scardozzi 2010; Arthur 2012:284).

From the 11th century, the region formed the border area under changing Seljuk and Byzantine control, and was finally conquered in the early years of the 13th century (Arthur 2002:220–222). A small Turkish fort was in use at least until the late 14th century, and dwellings forming a hamlet or small village west of the former city testify to continued human presence (Arthur 2002; Ahrens et al.). A burial containing pilgrim badges from Western Europe dating to the late 13th century shows that the martyrion of St. Philip was still not completely forgotten, but this also constitutes the latest Christian find in the area (Ahrens 2012a).

3.2 Research and Excavations

3.2.1 Western rediscovery and early investigations

With the emerging interest in Classical Antiquity among Western European scholars, travel descriptions from Asia Minor start to appear in the 17th century. The initial targets of interest were the places known from the New Testament, especially the Seven Churches of the Revelation, all located in South-Western Anatolia (Rev. 1.4-3.22). Later, however, the Greco-Roman remains in themselves attracted attention. The earliest modern mention of Hierapolis is found in the collection of letters from Oxonian Thomas Smith (1674:144–148), followed by Spon and Wheler's description of their 1675-76 travels, which also includes several epigraphic and numismatic remarks (Spon and Wheler 1724:210–211). The following two centuries, Hierapolis received increasing touristic and scholarly attention (Pococke 1745; Chandler 1776; Arundell 1834; Texier 1839; Fellows 1839; Trémaux 1858; et alii), though not at the scale of more accessible and famous sites. A proper archaeological publication of the city came with *Altertümer von Hierapolis* in 1898 (Humann et al. 1898), but for the next sixty years little research would be done in Hierapolis.

3.2.2 The Italian excavations 1957 – Present

The initial archaeological excavation campaigns in Asia Minor were concentrated around the larger cities on the Ionian coast (i.a. Troy 1871, Pergamon 1878, Milet 1899, Ephesus 1903). The Italians ventured further inland, surveying in large parts of south-western Anatolia and excavating in Aphrodisias, but only in the second half of the last century were excavations started in the Lycos valley (D'Andria 2001:97).

Under the directorship of Paolo Verzone from the *Turin Polytechnic Institute*, the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* (*MAIER*) was set up in 1957, concentrating on the major visible monuments, with excavations in the martyrion and the Temple of Apollo, and restorations on the Frontinus Gate and in the necropolis (Mighetto 1999). The early excavation years have been summed up in the *Italian Research Counsel*'s overview of research (Verzone 1978), and been included in later overview works (i.a. De Bernardi Ferrero 1987). Notable from this period is Equini Schneider's monograph on the necropoleis of Hierapolis (Equini Schneider 1972), a review of tomb architecture and distribution serving as background for all later work on the necropoleis.

Following the death of Verzone in 1986, the leadership passed to Daria De Bernardi Ferrero, who continued her interest in the Roman theatre with excavation and restorations, and under-

took a wider investigation of the grid plan (Arthur 2012:277; see e.g. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966). In 1980, other Italian universities started joining the *Missione*, and in 1999 the management was transferred to the *University of Salento in Lecce* under Francesco D'Andria. Recent focus has been divided between excavation (along the Frontinus street, in the Plutonium and temple of Apollo, of one of the *insulae*, and of the basilica and tomb of Phillip) and restoration (mainly of the theatre, but also of the martyrion-road and the Frontinus Gate). Today, *MAIER* consists of several Italian universities and archaeological institutions working on different aspects of the city, and the project also includes Turkish archaeologists and an international team from the *University of Oslo*.

A publication series dedicated to the Hierapolis project resulted in four volumes between 1985 and 2002 (Hierapolis: Scavi e ricerche I-IV), and was later replaced by the Hierapolis di Frigia-series, aimed at covering the full extent of research in Hierapolis in the form of excavation reports, themed issues and monographs (Bejor 2009). Five volumes have emerged since 2007, and Hierapolis di Frigia VI, including the results of the Norwegian project in the East Necropolis, is in preparation.

With the honourable exceptions of numismatics (Travaglini and Camilleri 2010) and epigraphy (Ritti 1985), few non-architectural object groups have been subject to comprehensive publication in these series. Locally produced Late Antique pottery has received some attention elsewhere, particularly by Cottica (Cottica 1998; 2000; 2005; 2007; forthcoming; Daszkiewicz et al. 2010a; 2010b), but consistent small finds publication is generally wanting.

Efforts have been made to increase accessibility and to benefit from new channels of distribution, however, as seen in the case of Hierapolis di Frigia II. This volume, the Atlante di Hierapolis di Frigia, which includes maps covering the archaeological area on a scale of 1:1000, and lexical information and pictures of important structures, was published as a printed volume, on CD, and online simultaneously (D'Andria et al. 2008; http://antares.ibam.cnr.it:8080/atlante/). The project further facilitates outreach by maintaining a comprehensive website with contents of both scholarly and touristic interest (https://www.hierapolis.unisalento.it), and through the production of several high-quality archaeological guidebooks (Bejor 2009:144).

3.2.3 Other excavations

Following the World Heritage status, a protection and development plan for the area was drawn up. This plan included several changes to the infrastructure, which in turn prompted several rescue operations carried out by archaeologists from *Denizli Museum*. Starting in 1992, excavations were conducted in the bath complex south of the main street, which since 1984 has been the location of the site museum (Şimşek 1997a:2). Concurrently, the access road through the

North Necropolis was extended, causing the removal and relocation of several tombs (Şimşek 1997a:265). Returning excavations in the necropolis have resulted i.a. in Şimşek's doctoral thesis (Şimşek 1997b), and the MA work of Okunak on tomb 159d (Okunak 2005), which will be explored further in the present work.

3.3 The Necropoleis of Hierapolis

The overarching funerary complexes in Hierapolis consists of necropoleis, designated areas for burial monuments, whose structure and layout reflect the society in which they were created (Duday 2009:96). Although the Greco-Roman tradition, and law[3], banning intramural burials is not as strictly observed in Asia Minor (Cormack 2004:37–49), the tombs of Hierapolis are located outside the city, concentrated in three areas: The North Necropolis counting more than 2000 tombs along the road leading north from the Frontinus Gate towards Tripolis and on to Ephesus, the South Necropolis following the road south towards Laodikeia, and finally the East Necropolis with tombs scattered on the slope north-east of the city (Equini Schneider 1972:98).

The custom of displaying wealth and power through grave monuments placed along roads leading out from the cities, as known e.g. from Via Appia in Rome and the "Street of tombs" in Pompeii, also gained favour in the east, and road necropoleis are common in Asia Minor (Berns 2003:132–133). Towards the end of the first century AD, however, there is a tendency for this kind of self-representation to become less important, with higher valuation of peacefulness, natural surroundings and good views possibly taking its place. Ahrens (2011) argues that this phenomenon can also observed in Hierapolis, and explains why the East Necropolis breaks the pattern of congestion around the main roads and instead features a large amount of tombs constructed on the hillsides further afield, overlooking the city.

The necropoleis display a large variation in tomb types, spanning from cist-graves, *chamosoria* and sarcophagi to monumental tumuli, vaulted tombs, *bomoi* and house- or *heroon*-tombs, but the graves are homogenous in building technique and material, dominated by large squared building blocks of the local travertine, only replaced by marble for some details and sarcophagi.

While the North Necropolis is the oldest, with the tumulus-graves and vaulted tombs dating to the 3rd-1st centuries BC (Okunak 2005:13, 63–64; Ahrens et al.:2), it was still used and extended concurrently with the construction phase of the East Necropolis between the 1st and the 3rd

[3] cf. Cicero (De leg. 2.23) quoting the Law of the twelve tablets.

century AD, and into the 4th century (Equini Schneider 1972:99–102; Ronchetta and Mighetto 2007; Ahrens and Brandt).

3.4 HNE

Since 2007, the *University of Oslo* has conducted yearly archaeological investigations in the East Necropolis of Hierapolis (Hierapolis Necropoli Est – HNE) as part of the Italian archaeological mission, *MAIER*. The project has been divided into the geographical survey and registration of tombs and monuments in the area, and systematic excavations of areas of particular interest (Ahrens and Brandt *forthcoming:1*; Ahrens and Brandt 2009).

3.4.1 Surveying the East Necropolis

Since a thorough registration and overview of the structures in the area of the North Necropolis were lacking, a GIS-based survey was accorded priority in the HNE-project. The survey area covered the north-eastern slope above the city from the Byzantine city wall to the top of the ridge, and from the processional road in the east to the gulley with the theatre to the west, thus covering all known graves attributed to the necropolis.

In total, more than 700 funerary structures were registered, in addition to 20 dwellings of Ottoman or later date. A spatial division was discovered between the tombs of the Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods, all found in the south-western corner of the survey area, and the 2nd and 3rd century tombs higher up the slope. This is/was taken to suggest that the south-western part would have belonged to the North Necropolis, but was cut off from this by the building of the agora in the 2nd century. Byzantine cemeteries in connection with the martyrion constitute a third phase of graves in the area, which is not directly related to the Roman East Necropolis. (Ahrens et al.)

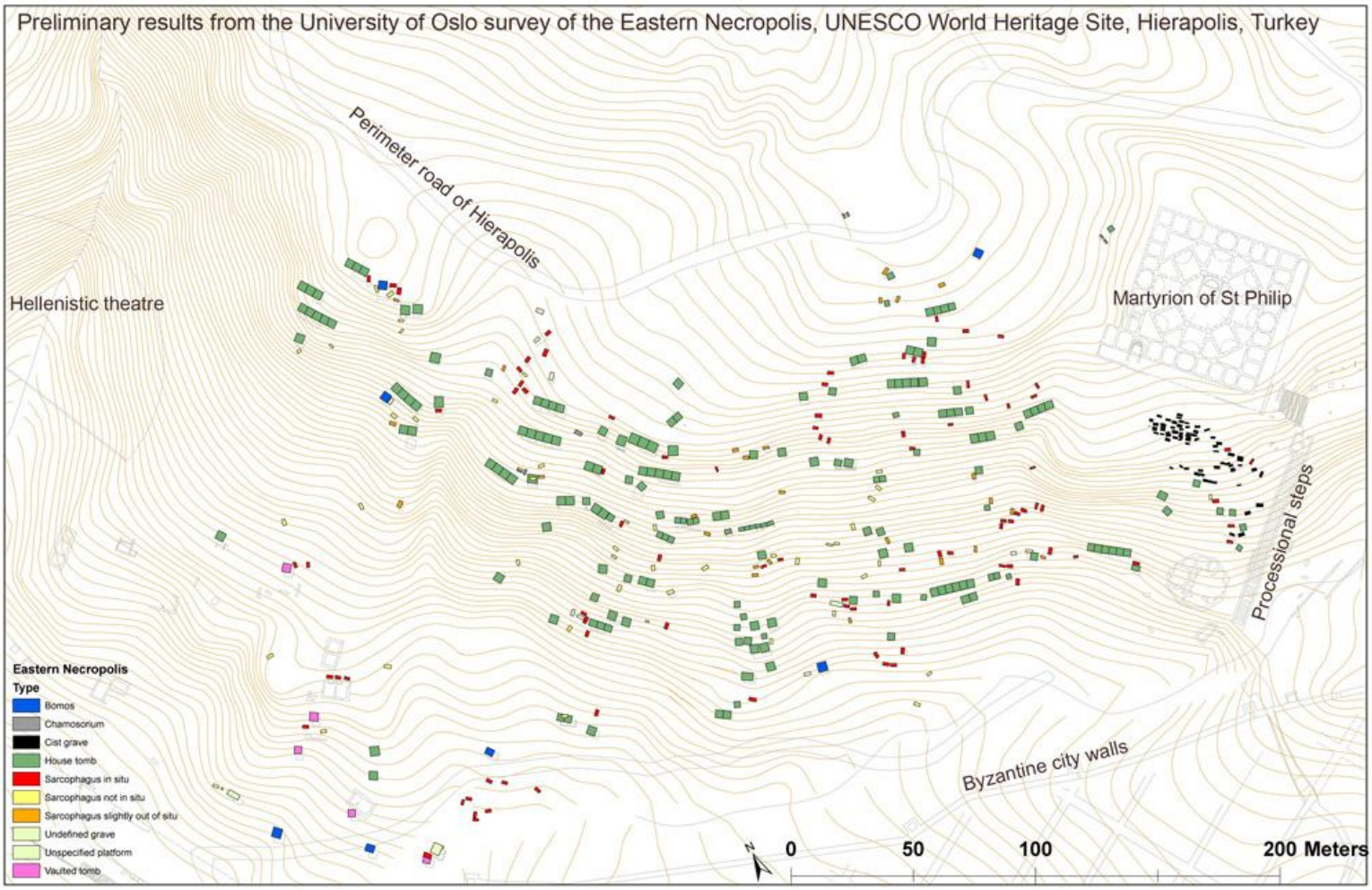


Figure 1: Map of the East Necropolis based on the survey (Ahrens 2009)

The prevailing types in the 2nd and 3rd century necropolis are the house tomb and the sarcophagus. The term "house tomb" is used here for the (fairly simple) rectangular block-built graves with a saddle roof (cf. Equini Schneider 1972:118–121). Although these can include decorative elements and inscriptions, they are less elaborate than the tombs in the North Necropolis (cf. 163d?) or temple-like *heroa* such as the Tomba Bella (see Romeo 2011; Ahrens et al.:5). The house tombs are found in rows with two to six tombs built on terraces cut into the steep hillside, sometimes sharing side walls with the neighbouring structure (Ahrens et al.:2, 5). The regularity of the layout and standardisation of the tombs may indicate that the necropolis, or at least parts of it, was planned and developed as a commercial endeavour.

The nearly 150 monumental tombs and more than 230 sarcophagi constructed from the 1st to the 3rd century AD are estimated to have had a capacity of 6000 burials (Ahrens 2011:101-102).

The survey documented frequent occurrences of human or geological destruction. Damages from looting and earthquakes, the removal of spolia, and the effects of erosion/colluviation have resulted in fewer preserved tombs than in the other necropoleis (Ahrens et al.:9–10).

3.4.2 Excavations

Excavations have taken place in a Byzantine cemetery south-west of the *martyrion* (Area A), in a Late Roman or Early Byzantine cemetery above and around the house tomb C91/51 west of the martyrion (Area B), in a Roman burial complex including sarcophagi and the house tombs C92/42, C91/51 and C92a/65 (Area B), in a Roman cist grave in the northern part of the necropolis (Area G), in what is possibly a Roman funerary garden (*cepotaphium*) in the valley south-west of the martyrion (Area H) and, finally, in a niche in the southern wall of Philip's grave church (Area J) (Ahrens and Brandt *forthcoming*; Selsvold 2012)

During the 2007 and 2008 seasons, 39 of the 80 identified tomb structures in the cemetery of Area A were partially or completely excavated (Ahrens and Brandt *forthcoming*:2-3). Due to the poor bone preservation environment, few skeletal remains were found, but enough material was retrieved to conduct a series of radiocarbon datings, showing a period of use from the 5th to the 11th century AD (ibid:5). On a terrace partly above and south-east of C91/51, eight tile tombs were excavated in 2009-2011 and a further two in 2013. A combination of radiocarbon, tile and finds analysis places the period of use in the 4th -10th centuries (ibid.).

In Area G, a single tomb (T322) was excavated in 2012, consisting of a deep (130cm), rectangular underground chamber with plastered walls, covered by travertine blocks (Selsvold *forthcoming*). Two coins at floor level give a probable date in the first half of the 3rd century AD – one being in production from Trajan to Caracalla, the other dating to Caracalla or later (Travaglini, pers. com).

Magnetometer findings indicating an enclosed area around the tomb complex T251 in Area H lead to the hypothesis of the presence of a *cepotaphium* (cf. Toynbee 1971:94–96; Ahrens 2011:103). Test trenches were dug in 2012 and 2013, confirming the Roman date of the wall and its relation to the tomb building. The area inside the wall contained large amounts of pottery, and the structure could be seen as a peribolos around a garden or belonging to the tomb.

3.4.2.1.1 Area B – The Roman tombs

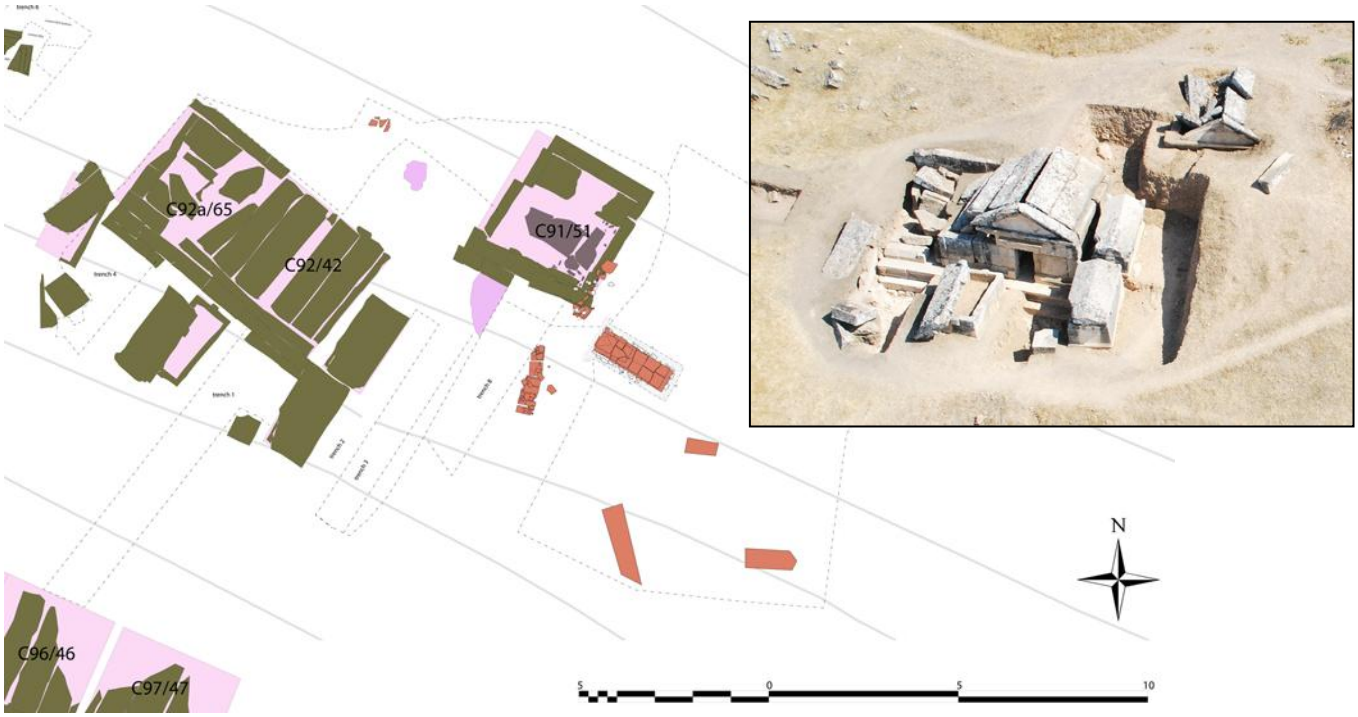


Figure 2: Area B (Drawing: Ahrens and Brandt; photo: MAIER)

The main focus of the excavations has been the Roman tomb complex 70 m northwest of the *martyrion*. It consists of the interlinked house tombs C92a/65 and C92/42, a third house tomb C91/51 a few metres further northwest, withdrawn from the ridge, and three sarcophagi in connection with C92/42 (Sarc. 62, 63 and 64). Of the house tombs, C92a/65 has collapsed, while the two others stand to more or less their full height (figure 3). Although excavations around the tombs took place in the 1960s, these did not reach the Roman ground level or uncover the contents of the graves (Verzone 1961; 1965; Ahrens and Brandt:12). Especially the eastern part of the area was covered by a thick layer of soil, in which the 5th century tile graves were found approximately at the height of the entablature of C91/51. The layer was found to be an artificial terrace built up by filling masses, probably coming from the levelling work in preparation of the *martyrion* (Ahrens 2010:5).

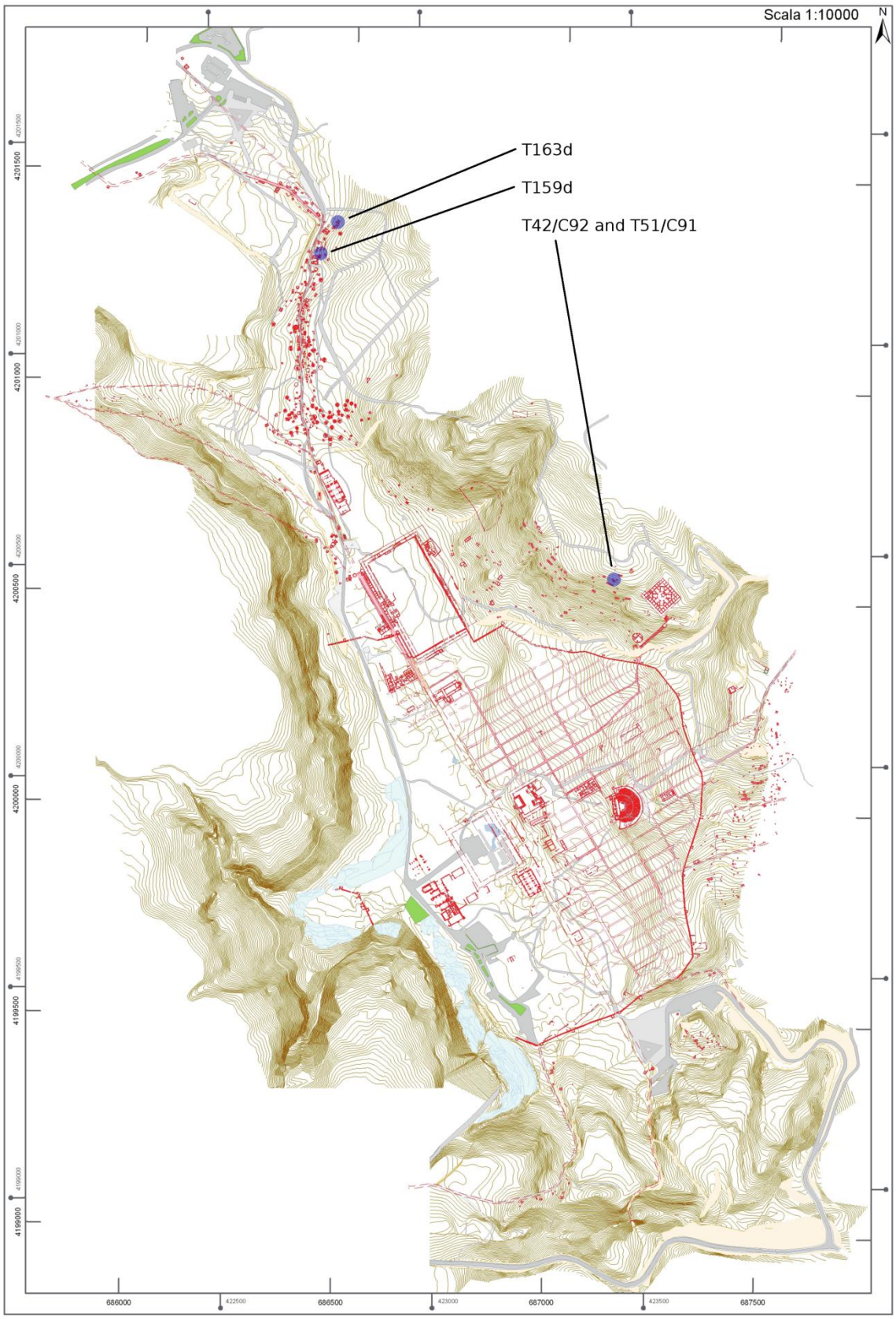
Trenches were dug around the tomb structures, in part to uncover their architecture and construction method, and in part to understand the original local topography and investigate the terraces cut into the slope/bedrock. It was discovered that quite extensive levelling work had taken place in preparation of the tombs; not only were cuts made in the soil, but bedrock, boulders, gravel and mortar had also been used to extend the flat area in front of the graves, even out irregularities and improve drainage. Some pottery fragments and tesserae were found in the filling material, and a substantial quantity of pottery from a wide span of time was found

on the uppermost terrace, this being interpreted as a pottery waste dump. Preparatory terracing and levelling for additional house tombs was found, indicating a long-term development scheme for the area. (Ahrens 2010:8–9)

Next to the foundation blocks in the south-east corner of C91/51 a deposited assemblage of a glass unguentarium, a lamp, and a jar was found in a broken amphora. There were no bones or other finds associated with it, and it is seen as a possible late 1st-2nd century AD offering or dedicatory deposit (Ahrens 2012b:4).

4 THE TOMBS

The funerary assemblages chosen for this study belong to tombs of three different stages in the development of the necropoleis of Hierapolis. Still, they have a certain number of features in common, making it possible to compare the material and draw conclusions across the four sites: all grave monuments included in the analyses are multiple burial tombs that were in use for several centuries and are characterised by a complex find situation.


Scala 1:10000
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T163d
T159d
T42/C92 and T51/C91
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4.1 159D – The Tumulus

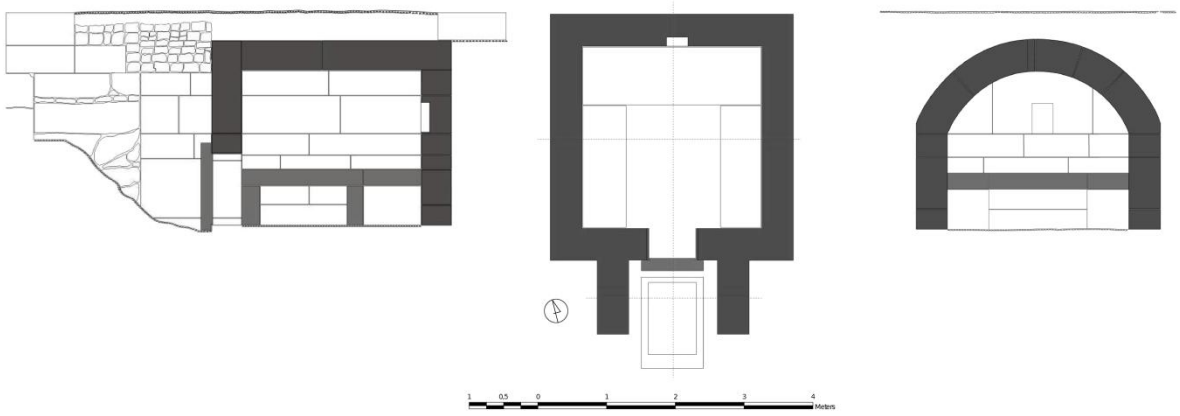

Figure 4: Layout of T159D (after Okunak 2005:plate 1, 3 and 4)

The tomb 159D was first discovered and opened during the 2001 excavations in the North Necropolis directed by *Denizli Museum*. It was found under a platform constituting a podium for sarcophagus 159, and had until then been completely concealed. Excavations revealed the structure of a Hellenistic tumulus, which during or shortly after the earthquake in 60 AD had been covered by soil, perhaps while levelling out the destruction layer. (Okunak 2005:15–17)

In total, more than hundred tumulus-constructions are registered in the necropoleis of Hierapolis, with a concentration in the flatter areas north of the city. The tumuli are all of similar type, and share the shape of the burial chamber with the vaulted tombs: a cylindrical travertine wall is raised around a vaulted quadrangular construction and filled with earth to create a mound over the chamber. Access is gained through a *dromos* in front, often ending in an antechamber. At the end of the *dromos*, a small door leads in to the square burial chamber with *klinai* along three walls. A niche can sometimes be found above the bench of the back wall. (Okunak 2005:15–16)

Irregularities in the material and construction methods of the podium lead to the discovery of the structure. The excavation met the floor level of the *dromos* 3.16 metres below, while the highest point of the vaulted roof was found to be about half a meter under the podium. The entrance to the burial chamber was sealed by a stone slab, and the chamber itself was found intact without traces of looting (Okunak 17-18). The side benches and the niche in the back wall were empty, but articulated skeletons were found on the back bench, and disarticulated bones in the central aisle and under the benches. On the back bench, fragments of burnt bone laid together with iron sheets forming part of a box, indicating that one of the burials had been a cremation placed in a metal ash-chest.

Several additional objects were recovered: An amphora to the left of the entrance under the bench, a glass beaker, ceramic and glass unguentaria in the central area, and two lamps and three more ceramic unguentaria under the right-hand bench. Two readable coins were also found, dating to the reigns of Augustus and Claudius. The find analysis shows a time span of use from the 3rd century BC to the early Roman period. The 60 AD earthquake is considered a firm *terminus ante quem* (Okunak 2005:18–19).

4.2 163d – The Heroon

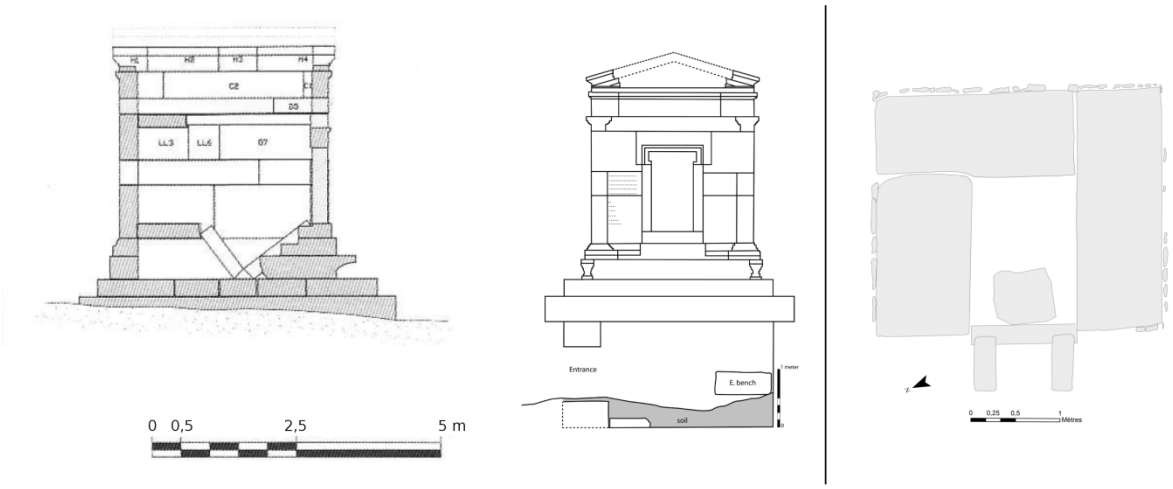

Figure 5: Tomb 163d, to the right configuration of the lower chamber (after Ronchetta 2005; Laforest forthcoming)

Concurrently with the Norwegian project in the East Necropolis, excavations of the subterranean burial chamber of a tomb in the North Necropolis were conducted by an team led by Caroline Laforest from the universities of Bordeaux and Milano.

T163d is a two-storey rectangular, saddle-roofed tomb, forming part of multi-grave complex 163 in the northern part of the North Necropolis. Ronchetta and Mighetto (2007:440, 443) date the building to the first century AD, and show that the complex was being developed at least till the end of the third century. In an inscription to the left of the entrance, a third century owner identifies herself as Aurelia Quadratilla the Jew, and claims ownership for her sons to the "*heroon with that which lies under and the area around*[4]" (published by Miranda in Ritti et al. 2007:606). The Jewish reference is repeated over the entrance to the lower chamber, where a nine-armed candelabra similar to the Hanukkah *menorah* is engraved. This is a common decorative element in Jewish funerary art throughout the Diaspora (Green 2008:153). The twenty-three identified funerary inscriptions referring to Judaism show the significance of the Jewish community in Hierapolis in the 2nd - 4th centuries AD (Miranda 1999). While some, as this one, simply state the Jewish identity of the owner, others mention institutions, such as a Jewish archive (CIJ 775-6), or fines to be paid *to the Jewish people/community*[5] (Humann et al.

[4] τό ἠρῷον σύν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ θέματι κέ τῷ περί αὐτήν τόπῳ

[5] ἀποτείσει τῷ λαῷ τον Ἰουδαί[ω]ν

1898:96 no. 69). On a more practical note, the reference to the hypogeum also helped to (re)discover it in 2001 (Ronchetta and Mighetto 2007:440; Ritti et al. 2007).

The two burial chambers are equally large, measuring 3.15 x 2.75 m, and are both fitted with stone benches on three sides. While the upper chamber was empty – and the entire upper part was badly damaged before restoration – the lower was found intact and undisturbed, with its entrance situated below modern ground level and sealed by a stone slab (Andersen 2007:476-477). Evidence from other two-storied tombs in Asia Minor suggests that both the main chamber and the *hyposorium* were used for burials, and that burial in the upper chamber was connected with higher status, or even reserved for the "primary patron" of the tomb (Cormack 2004:113–115). The presence of *klinai* in both chambers supports the view that burials had taken place also in the upper chamber of 163d, but we lack direct reference to the division of use between the chambers in Hierapolis.

The *hyposorium* was opened during consolidation work in 2001, but left largely untouched awaiting excavations. These were undertaken by Anderson in 2002 and 2003, and continued by Laforest who, from 2010 to 2013, saw to the complete emptying of the chamber. Due to the large amount of human remains and the complex bone find situation, the excavations were carried out with a predominantly osteo-archeological focus. (Anderson 2002; 2007; Laforest et al.)

The benches were found covered with a thin layer of soil, and several articulated skeletons and disarticulated bones. Below the benches, an about 40 cm thick layer of soil, containing further dislocated bones, had built up, and embedded in this were three larger ceramic jars (Anderson 2007:478–479; Laforest et al.:3). Although a clear soil stratigraphy was not found, it is evident from the find distribution that the sediments on the benches and the uppermost level in the central space had gathered from soil and dust sieving in through openings in the walls after the chamber had been sealed up. The remaining soil in the central space, on the other hand, was a man-made fill, made during the period of use (Laforest et al.:9).

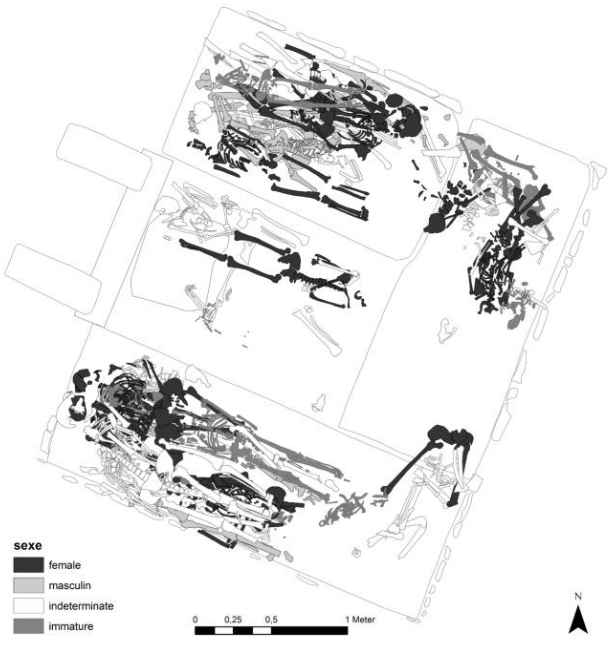

Figure 6: Distribution in T163d by sex. (Laforest et al.:Fig. 10)

The excavation revealed a total MNI of 89 with 78 more or less complete,

articulated skeletons, and showed an overall overrepresentation of voluminous bones (Laforest et al.:10). The articulated skeletons were concentrated on the north and south benches, with a larger part of the bones on the east bench and in the central space being disarticulated. Further, while the total overrepresentation of voluminous bones was mirrored on the benches, the opposite was true for the central space. In addition to the inhumation burials, the bones of one cremated adult were found in the deposits under the benches, and one of the jars may have contained further cremated bones (Laforest, pers. com.; Okunak 2005:57).

An important goal of the excavations was to investigate the chambers' role in relation to the upper chamber, and potentially also other burial places (Laforest et al.). Were they used independent of each other, did they serve to differentiate between users based on the age, sex or status, or did onereceive secondary deposits from the other?

The disparity between larger and smaller bones can neither be explained by rough excavation techniques nor by poor bone preservation, and leads to the conclusion that the chamber did not serve as a closed depositional system (Laforest et al.:13). While much of the disarticulation of bones can be explained by internal manipulations – e.g. making room for new burials by placing the larger bones against the walls and shoving the rest down on the floor (cf. Anderson 2007:484), some of the voluminous bones must have been introduced at a secondary stage, perhaps after having gone through a primary burial and decomposition in the upper chamber. As seen in figure 7, there is no obvious pattern of division based on sex or age. It is clear, however, that there was extensive variation in the deposition of bodies: some were put to rest in a primary burials, either in wooden coffins or directly on the benches, others were introduced in an advanced state of decomposition, and yet others came as dry bones or even cremated remains (Laforest et al.:11–13).

The question of status is less easy to investigate, and the complex situation makes it impossible to link grave goods to individual burials. Still, the presence of gold thread and earrings, engraved gemstones, and carved bone ornaments, possibly having decorated a wooden coffin, show that some of the deceased were buried with valuable items (Laforest, pers. com.). Laforest et al. (6, 13) further hypothesises that secondary burial, with primary deposition e.g. in the upper chamber, can be regarded as a mark of higher status.

A coin of Marcus Aurelius on the floor level in the central space gives a secure *terminus post quem* for the fill in the late 2nd century, and four ^{14}C-samples from skeletons on the benches give cal AD from the late 1st century BC or 1st century AD to the 5th or 6th century. (Laforest et al.:30). The samples show a long and potentially continuous use, and let a complete emptying of the chamber during its period of use appear improbable. Thus, material from the entire use period of the tomb can be expected to be present.

4.3 C92/42 – The tomb of Eutyches and the Sarcophagi

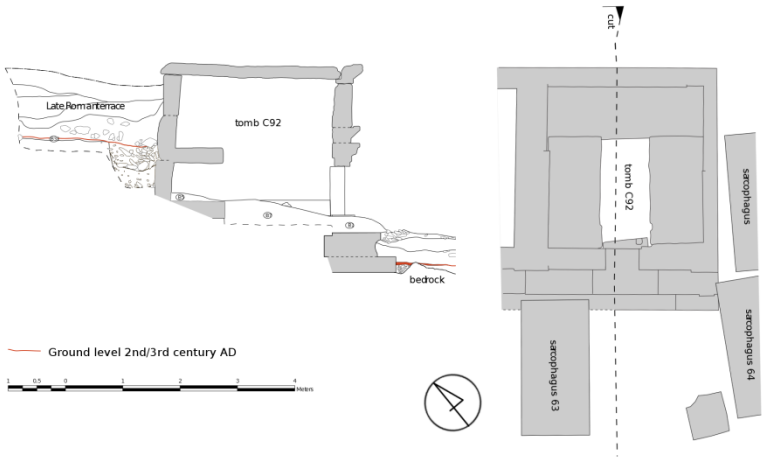

Figure 7: C92/42 (after drawing by Ahrens and Brandt)

C92/42 follows the standard layout of the house tombs in the necropolis (see Equini Schneider 1972:119–121), with modular travertine blocks forming a nearly square chamber (sides ca. 2.75 m) in which benches take up three sides, leaving room for a central aisle and the door opening. A fourth bench lies along the back wall, 67 cm above the other three. The foundation blocks rest directly on the bedrock in the dug-out terrace, and the inside floor consists of compacted soil covering irregularities in the bedrock (contexts B87-B90). (Ahrens and Brandt:13)

Prior to excavation, soil filled the tomb chamber up to about 15 cm over the lower benches. Human remains were present throughout the soil fill at varying spatial concentration and state of preservation. The vast majority of the bones were disarticulated, the exception being several spines and two partly articulated skeletons in the upper layers of the central aisle (context B07). The osteological analysis is still in progress, but preliminary results show an overrepresentation of larger bones – femora, sterna and crania. As discussed above (for 163d), this indicates post-decompositional addition of bones to the tomb. A reuse of the tomb as a mid-Byzantine bone-dump, or ossuary, from graves in or by the *martyrion* and church has been proposed (Ahrens and Brandt *forthcoming*:17; Bortheim et al. 2010) Bortheim et al. 2010). The idea that burial *ad sanctos* would benefit the soul lead to a congestion of burials in close proximity of saints' graves, and gave rise to the custom of exhuming and gathering old bones to make room for new interments (Naji 2005:176–177; Johnson 2014)). The semi-articulated skeletons found among the loose bones represent later primary burials cut into these deposits (Ahrens and Brandt *forthcoming*:17). This is supported by the initial overview of the finds, which have given dates from around 100 AD to the 5th century and again between ca. 900 and 1300 AD – the Medieval finds includes coins, cross pendants and the above mentioned pilgrim badges. Lower layers

contain more Roman finds, but here the bone preservation is too poor to allow for an assessment of the bone composition. The MNI so far identified is 54, but it is expected to increase considerably with continued study of the several hundred kilogrammes of bone material retrieved from the tomb (Ahrens et al. 2013:20–21).

4.3.1 Stratigraphy

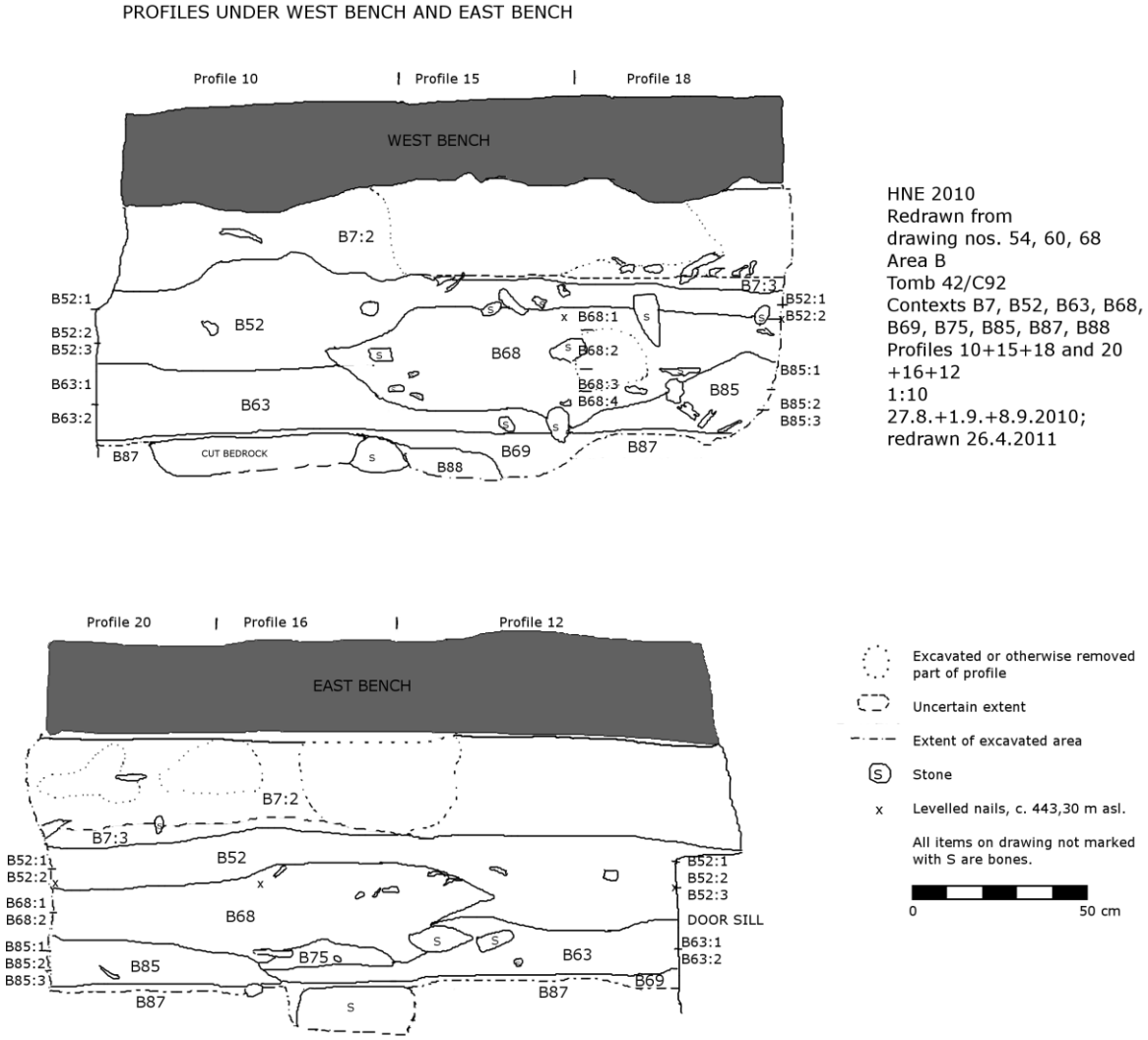

Figure 8: Profile overview C92/42

The top layer B05, which equals the soil filling above the lower bench level, consisted of accumulated dust and loose soil mixed with stones and pebbles, bones and artefact finds, including a bronze cross and a coin. The context is highly mixed, with material probably dating from the Roman period till modern times. Beneath followed the thick layer B07, stretching from the top end of the benches to 20-25 cm below them; this context was dug over three seasons, in 2008 (B7:1), 2009 (B7:2) and 2010 (B7:3). The context contained a massive amount of disarticu-

lated bones and partly articulated skeletons, accounting for nearly 90% of all individually registered bones and two thirds of the bone bags from the tomb (Ahrens 2012b:3). Mixed with small and medium stones, tile fragments and construction debris, mid- and late Byzantine coins and Christian religious objects (bronze crosses and pilgrim badges) were found. The relative object concentration was somewhat lower than the bone concentration, with the context accounting for about half the general finds in the tomb. The finds contributed to the interpretation of B07 as a Byzantine fill that originated from use of the tomb as a secondary deposit for bones from graves in or by the *martyrion*. A possible mix with earlier Roman burials was noted.

Under B07 are the contexts B52 and B63, partly divided by B68. B52 shows mostly fragmented bones, some equally fragmented glass finds, small stones and small bits of charcoal spread out in the sandy soil. This continues in B63, but as one gets deeper, the charcoal disappears and there are more and better preserved bones. B68 consists of a darker, siltier soil in the northern part of the aisle, with relatively few bones and mixed Late Roman and Byzantine finds. The three contexts are seen as constituting a gradual accumulation between the Roman use face and the Byzantine dump of B07.

B75 and B85 were organic and silty layers in the east and northwest, respectively, and interpreted as possible single deposits of material from the benches. B85 was especially bone rich, and probably entirely Roman, while B75 tends towards a Roman to Late Roman date.

B69 was a thin layer of compacted sandy silt covering the bedrock. It had very few finds, and is seen as the Roman floor level. Below this, the contexts B87 and B88 consisted of construction fill used to even out irregularities in the bedrock. A possible pit cut into the floor level (B89-B90), partly covered by a stone slab, was excavated, but contained no finds.

4.3.1.1 Sherd joins across contexts

During my study of the pottery from the HNE excavations, 29 sets of sherds with joins across two or more contexts were identified. Several of them cover a wide range of contexts from top to bottom of the tomb, and in two instances there are even joins between sherds found in T42/C92 and in Sarcophagus 63 (appendix 1). Due to limited resources, the search for joining sherds has been concentrated around some of the more easily recognizable forms and fabrics, and an intensive survey of the material would no doubt have revealed more. Still, the findings prove that the contexts have been severely mixed, and show that the fill must be assumed to contain objects not originally belonging to the tomb's funerary assemblage.

4.3.2 The Sarcophagi

Three travertine sarcophagi (Sarc 62-64) are found in direct vicinity of C92/42, and must, based on location, inscriptions and finds, be seen in connection with it. Placed west of the entrance, in front of C92/42, Sarc 63 serves as a divider between the two consecutive house tombs, and, together with Sarc 64, forms an entrance area. The sarcophagus was found open, with the lid on the ground next to it, and filled with soil up towards the rim (Ahrens 2009). The masses contained disarticulated bones belonging to four individuals, two of whom were sub-adults, some glass and ceramic sherds, including lamps and unguentaria, and two coins (Ahrens 2010:7). The coins have been dated to the 390s and the 560s-570s AD (xxx. and Justinius II) (coinref), while the ceramic fragments span from the 1st to the 5th century AD.

The two ceramic pieces from Sarc 63 finding joins in the fill of C92/42 shows that the filling of the two tombs must have a connection. The sarcophagus opposite Sarc 63 whose lid was removed by the team was in effect empty, and only a few (animal) bones and pot sherds were found in it.

Sarc 62 sits next to the east wall of C92/42. Although the lid was in place, a corner of it was broken off and later found inside the sarcophagus, strongly suggesting that it had been subject to looting (Ahrens 2010). Consequently, few objects were found, with the exception of nearly 40 iron nails. The bone material was very fragmented, but an MNI of two, one being sub-adult, the other adult, has been established (Ahrens et al. 2013:20).

4.3.3 Inscriptions

An inscription in the pediment of C92/42 reads *The memorial of Eutyches, son of Apollonius from Lageina*[6], and thus gives a clear pointer to the (presumably) first owner and his roots in Lageina.

In an inscription on the side of Sarc 63[7], located on the west wing of C42/92, it is made clear that this sarcophagus is owned by the son of the Eutyches from the house tomb. Forming the other wing is Sarc 64. It is claimed by Ariste, Eutyches' daughter, and the inscription states that it is for her to be buried in.[8] Both inscriptions go on to describe the fines to be imposed on anyone who

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[6] Τὸ μνημεῖον Εὐτύχοῦς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Λαγεινέως (Humann et al. 1898:157 no. 281)

[7] ἡ σορός Ἀπολλωνίου Εὐτύχου τοῦ ΄Απολλωνίου Λαγεινέως [...] (Pennacchietti 1967:294–295 no. 2)

[8] ἡ σορός καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Ἀρίστης Εὐτύχοῦς τοῦ ΄Απολλωνίου Λαγεινέως, ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀρίστη [...] (Pennacchietti 1967:296 no. 4); Pennacchietti, however, reads them both as being children of

would take over or reuse the graves, and say that a copy of the terms is kept in the city archives. This is frequently seen in Hierapolitan funerary inscriptions and is a variation over the common Roman *monumentum heredem non sequitur*-formula (Toynbee 75-76).

Sarc 62 bears a similar inscription, but here the names have been intentionally erased, leaving only the fee to be paid for a takeover (these had apparently *not* kept a backup copy in the city archives). Additionally, below the standard inscription there is the Christian symbol of A-Ω. The letters have red paint preserved, and are of a form used in the early 4th century (Ahrens pers. com.) Whether the erasing of the names should be seen as a type of "*damnatio memoriae"*, or whether it was simply done to take over the tomb at some later point, is hard to comment on in a decisive manner.

4.4 C91/51 – Attalos' tomb

The C91/51 is a free-standing example of the house tomb. Standing about ten meters behind and to the right of the row with C92/42, it is pulled back from the edge of the steep slope. The Late Roman fill that covered the area engulfed the tomb almost completely, so that only the top of the pediment and the partly collapsed roof blocks were visible. An elaborate inscription[9] in the pediment gives the name of the first owner, Attalos the skinny or the crippled, and below, across the front wall, a later owner makes his claim: "and now Aurelius Artemonidos"[10]. The *gentilium* Aurelius dates this addition to after the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212 AD (as is also the case for Aurelia Quadratilla from 163d) (cf. Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2002:127; Salway 1994).

The find situation is not dissimilar from that of C42/92, with a high density of human remains of which only few are partially articulated. One skeleton has an 11th century bronze cross pendant associated with it (possibly held in the hand), but finds are otherwise impossible to relate to specific burials (Ahrens and Brandt:14). The situation, however, seems to change close to the lower benches, with the soil containing fewer bones, and finds of Roman date.

Apollonius of Lageina, but this does not accord with the house tomb inscription, nor is it grammatically preferable.

[9] "ΑΛΤΑΤΠΑΑΛΡΟΟΥΥ" ἥρωα (Pennacchietti 1967:296 no.5, Pl. 3).

[10] τὰ νῦν Αὐρ Ἀρτεμωνίδος (unpublished).

Stone-slab cut to look like a double door (cf. Zeuxis' tomb in the North Necropolis) found in place, even with traces of mortar attached to the edges revealing that the tomb had been sealed at some point (Ahrens 2010:3; Selsvold and Wenn 2012:20)

4.4.1 Stratigraphy

The uppermost layers, consisting of the topsoil (B71), and the context containing the stone slabs laid out to form a floor-surface (B91-B92) contained both human and ovicaprine bones, the latter showing that the collapsed tomb had been used as an animal shelter in the area's agricultural period. Below this, the very bone-rich B93 includes the partially articulated skeletons and predominately (mid-)Byzantine metal finds, but little glass and pottery. This forms the main part of the Byzantine reuse as bone deposit, but the transition to B142 is gradual. In the lower subcontexts of B93 (3 and 4) and in B142, more, and in part distinctively Roman, pottery appears, namely fragments of unguentaria and, on the lower south-western bench, four lamps and a gold brachteate. Although clearly disturbed, these layers seem to contain remains of the Roman use phase, and may represent an accumulation of sediments between the two phases. An alternative explanation would be that the tomb was filled in concurrently with the construction of the late 4th century terraces, and that the Byzantine bones were buried in this fill. B142 continues between the benches in the central aisle, and is still not completed; the main part of the deposit below the benches remains to be excavated.

4.5 Summary and Discussion

Each tomb in the sample is a funerary complex made for collective burials; they all contain human remains having been deposited at different times, and they are constructed in a way that facilitates repeated entrance to the chamber (Duday 2009:13). The stone slabs closing 159d and 163d, however, and especially the stone door sealed with mortar in C91/51, show that entering the tombs was not considered appropriate at all times (bringing to mind the closing of Jesus' tomb by προσκυλίσας λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ [Matt. 27.59-60], reflecting a Jewish custom [cf. Hachlili 2005:482).

All three chambers have the triclinium-design with stone benches surrounding a central aisle on three sides, common in the tumuli and the house-tombs in Hierapolis (Equini Schneider 1972). This spatial arrangement provides room for several burials, and secures easy access to all parts of the chamber through the entrance and central space. The variations added to the basic layout - C92/42 and C91/51 have an additional bench on the back wall above the other three, the upper chamber of 163d might have had a second set of benches at a higher level (Laforest et al.), and 159d had a niche built into the back wall (Okunak 2005) – do not alter the main properties.

While it is clear from the large amount of disarticulated bones that many of the human remains are found as secondary *deposits* and have been subject to post-decomposition manipulation, it is more difficult to determine to what extent this is also the result of secondary *burials* where this manipulation was planned from the start as part of the prolonged funerary rite (Duday 2009:89). The complete or nearly fully articulated skeletons found in all four tombs are likely to be primary burials, laid to rest where they were found. On the other end of the scale, the cremated bones from 159d, 163d and 42/C92 are obvious examples of secondary burials, and the bone dumps in the HNE tombs contain secondary deposits. In this last instance it is, however, improbable that this later manipulation was a pre-planned part of the burial. The design of 163d highlights the possibilities for secondary burials – we must expect the upper and lower chambers to relate to each other in one way or another, but it is impossible to determine whether or not they were used together in a two-stage burial practice where partly or fully decomposed individuals were moved from one to the other. Still, a large part of the disarticulated bones in the corners, towards the walls, or on the floor must be assumed to be the result of *reductions* – the removal of bones to make room for a new burial in the same space (Duday 2009:72).

The precise nature of the burial has potentially important implications for the grave goods. Where the bone material constitutes a primary deposit, the accompanying set of grave goods will also at some point have been present. In a secondary burial, funerary objects may follow the human remains or new ones may be added to the context, as seen e.g. in Stobi, where burn-marked unguentaria are set into the grave together with the urn and the cremated bones (Anderson-Stojanović 1987:120–121), but it might also not have been important that the objects follow the corpse, especially if their main function was connected to the first part of the funerary rite. Further, in the case of secondary deposit of primary burials, as the proposed removal of bones to free up space close to Philip's martyr grave, the inclusion of artefacts could be completely arbitrary or accidental.

Another interesting aspect is the ownership and rights of use for the tombs, especially considering the long use periods observed in all four burial chambers discussed above. A division is made

by Gaius, cited in the *Iustiniani Digesta*[11], between the *sepulchra familiaria*, reserved for the original owner and his close family, and the *sepulchra hereditaria*, which could be passed on to heirs of the owner (cf. Walbank 2005:269). Although the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* came into force only in the 6th century, Gaius worked in the 2nd century AD, and can be assumed to be relevant at least for the three youngest tombs.

From the inscriptions, it is clear that the HNE sarcophagi were made as *familiaria*, but also that this most likely was not respected. It is possible that the larger house tombs were intended to contain more people, and be passed on as hereditary tombs with the inscription reminding later users of the first owner. Two children of Eutykhes already created their own monuments instead of using their father's, however, and C92/42 may equally well have been meant for use by Eutykhes and his contemporaries only (e.g. wife, children who died young, and slaves). C91/51 was, as the inscription tells us, at some point transferred to a new owner. Considering that Aurelios Artemonidos' name was simply added below that of Attalos Laparos, one can imagine this to have taken place in an orderly manner without invoking any fines as documented in the city archive. In the case of 163d, the form of ownership has potentially important implications. We know that it belonged to a Jewish family in the 3rd century, but had it been in the family's possession from the beginning, so that the grave goods should be examined in a Jewish context, or did the inscription perhaps mark the takeover of an old tomb?

In the later Second Temple period[12], both primary burials in coffins and secondary collection and burial of the dry bones (*ossilegium*) were used in Jewish contexts; later, only primary burials are found (Hachlili 2005:514, 523–524). Important for both forms is the individual burial, and that the remains stay together and complete awaiting the resurrection. In chambers containing multiple burials, primary deposits would take place on the tomb benches, while collected bones could be stored in repositories under the benches (Hachlili 2005:302, 456). According to Jewish law "two corpses may not be buried beside one another, nor a corpse beside bones, nor bones beside a corpse." (Semaḥot 13, 8). The intended relationship between the upper and the lower

[11] 11.7.5: "*Gaius libro 19 ad edictum provinciale:* Familiaria sepulchra dicuntur, quae quis sibi familiaeque suae constituit, hereditaria autem, quae quis sibi heredibusque suis constituit." (Krueger and Mommsen 1872:155)

[12] lasting till the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD.

chamber could be seen to mirror this, but neither the piles of articulated skeletons on the benches, nor the disparity in the bone material below the benches are in compliance with these regulations. Cremation is not part of any Jewish funerary rite.

Although the continuity of the bone material speaks in favour of continuous ownership – assuming that new users would at least move old remains out of the way from the benches, if not empty the tomb completely (cf. Walbank 2005:271) – and the bone distribution might be a result of pragmatism, it seems unlikely to find cremation burials in a Jewish context. Thus, the conclusion also reached by Laforest et al. (13), that the tomb changed owners in the 3rd century AD, seems probable. This could also have lead to two separate periods of use, and changes in the grave goods.

5 THE OBJECT ASSEMBLAGES

When Morris (1992:10-13) lies out a hierarchy of sources for the study of ancient ritual, the "material remains of ritual" are valued as the element of least direct value. It is true that a pure "burial object analysis" may yield limited information (cf. Brown 2007:299–300). What it lacks in static detail, however, is gained in flexibility: "[It] lets us reconstruct the variability of symbols in concrete actions, and follow this as far through space and time as archaeological fieldwork has been taken." (Morris 1992:13).

The excavations have exposed a wide range of artefacts in ceramic, glass, metal and bone. Not all, however, will be relevant for my analysis and presented here. As the goal is to investigate the material remains of burial practices, the selection process consists of separating the grave goods from intrusive objects. Further, the grave inventory can be divided into the "deceased's body items" and "grave gifts", with funerary ritual equipment left in the tomb included in the latter category (Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008:7). The division is not absolute – personal objects will also reflect funeral norms and could well have played a part in the rites, but it may nonetheless prove helpful in the following analysis to assume such a division.

Where the deceased's items, such as clothing and jewellery (in our case mainly beads and bone pins) are likely to mirror his or her personal identity, the grave-gifts are representing the ritual context of the funeral (cf. Griesbach 2001:107). In the following, the main focus will lie on the ceramic and glass objects (predominantly unguentaria and lamps). and coins. In addition, golden earrings – while in principle a personal item – will also be discussed.

As seen above, both 163d, T42/C92 and T51/C91 had been fully or partially filled in with soil, and in the case of the HNE tombs, we additionally have a later phase of burial activity. The many

joining sherds found in different contexts further show that stratigraphy alone cannot be used to determine even relative dates of the objects. Thus, an important question is what belongs to the Roman funerary context, and what ended up in the graves in a secondary residual deposition, or in a later period of use. Although absolute certainty cannot be reached in most cases, some factors can be used to make a plausible distinction.

An indicator for the pottery is the state of preservation. If only a small percentage of a vessel is found (e.g. one or a few sherds), it is likely that it was broken elsewhere, and that the sherds entered the tomb as part of fill material. If, on the other hand, the vessel is complete, or most of the sherds belonging to it have been retrieved, the probability of it belonging to the original grave assemblage is higher, especially if the vessel is of a fragile type unlikely to survive rough handling.

An overview of the pottery and its preservation is presented in a table on the following pages. An arbitrary division has been made between vessels more than 50% complete and more fragmentarily preserved ones. For the latter, numbers are given in *maximum number of vessels* (MaxNV), that is, actually joining sherds are counted as one, while sherds possibly, but not certainly, belonging to the same vessel have been registered separately. The 50% threshold has been chosen to define a vessel likely to belong to the funerary assemblage. Although other finds will be commented on, only the well-preserved ones are presented in the catalogue (appendix 2).

For the HNE excavations, all ceramic fragments have been recorded, and every diagnostic sherd has been described individually in the project database. A considerable amount of work has been put into finding joining sherds and refitting lamps and unguentaria. While a full and complete matching has certainly not been achieved, it is improbable that remaining joins would significantly alter the picture. A similar, if less thorough, examination has been made of all ceramic material from 163d, were sherds were recorded per stratigraphical unit. The raw material from the excavation of 159d has not been available to the author, but no external fill or smaller sherds were mentioned in the tomb (Okunak 2005).

	Unguentaria		Lamps		Other fine ware		Coarse ware		Total	
	> 50% complete	Fragments (MaxNV)	> 50 % complete	Fragments (MaxNV)	> 50 % complete	Fragments (MaxNV)	> 50 % complete	Fragments (MaxNV)	> 50 % complete	Fragments (MaxNV)
T42/C92										
B00 (cleaning)				1				6	0	7
B01									0	0
B05		1				6		51	0	58
B07									0	0
B52	3	2	1	7		15	1	242	5	266
B63	2	5	1	3		9		89	3	106
B68	3	4	1	5		8	1	131	5	148
B69									0	0
B75		1						3	0	4
B85	3	7	1	5		15		95	4	122
B87 - B90									0	0

(floor levels)										
Total[13]	11	20	4	21	0	53	2	617	17	711
T51/C91										
B00 (cleaning)						2		31	0	33
B71				1		1		11	0	13
B91								15	0	15
B92								10	0	10
B93		1	4	2		14		158	4	175
B141		1				3		5	0	9
B142		2		1		3		9	0	15
Total	0	4	4	4	0	23	0	239	4	270

[13] Intercontext joins counted multiple times.

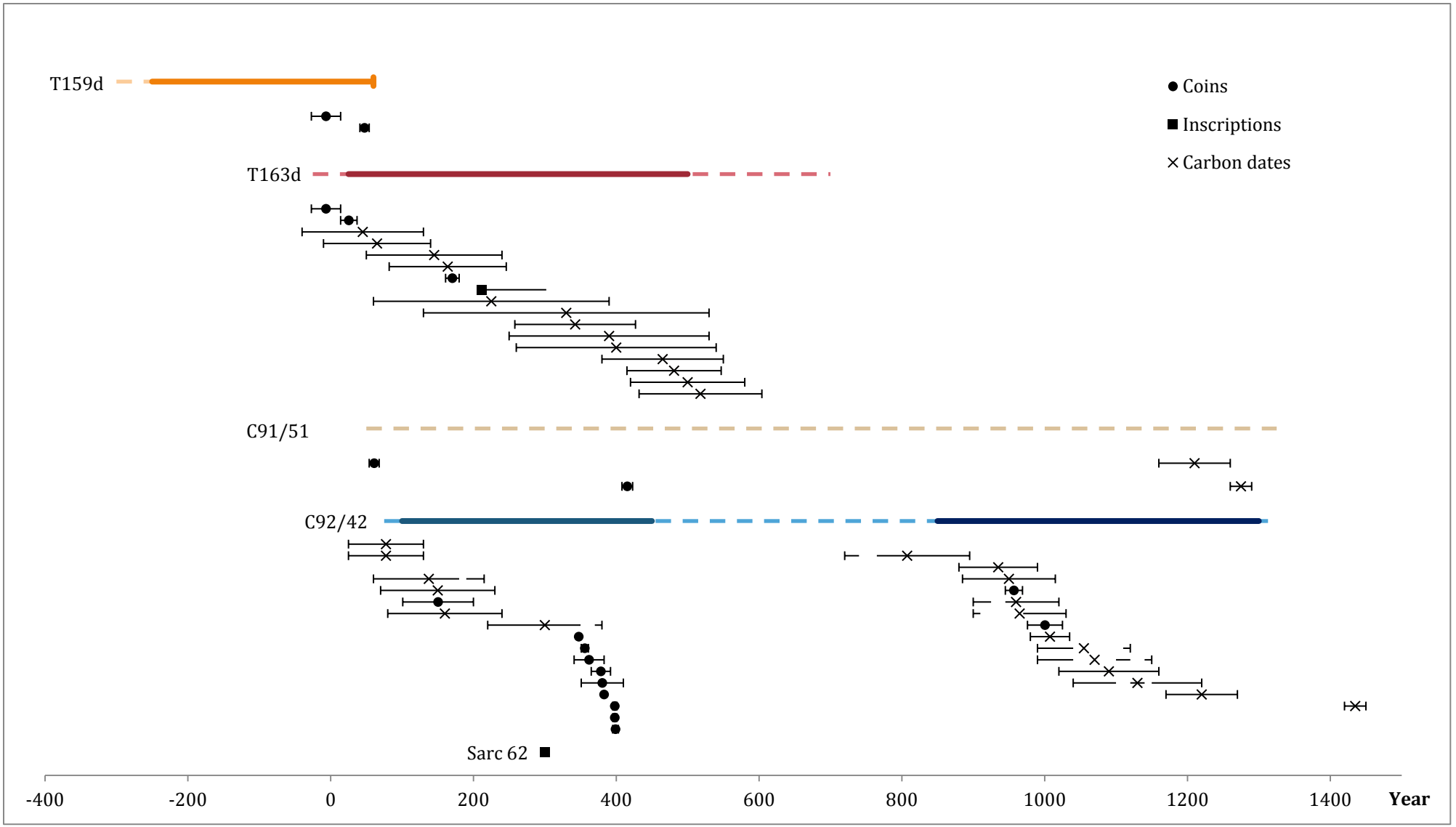

Figure 9: Confirmed dates and chronology of the tombs

The argument is partly valid also for glass: Due to its fragility, it is highly unlikely that a well-preserved glass vessel should have entered the burial chamber by chance, but, consequently, fractured glass should not be excluded from the assemblage *per se* as poor preservation must be expected. Here, however, practical challenges come into play – much of the glass, particularly from the HNE excavations, is simply too fragmentary to be recognisable, and the kind of refitting done with the pottery has not been attempted with the glass material.

Another criterion is the age of an object – a date far off from the known use of the tomb would either make it an unlikely (if considerably older than the tomb) or impossible (if considerably younger than the use phase) candidate for belonging to the burial context. This method is used to exclude Byzantine coins, crosses, and other object of later date, but is not always usable for coarse ware pottery which often changes very little over long periods of time.

5.1 Unguentaria in ceramic and glass

Unguentaria are a class of small, closed vessels first appearing in Greece towards the end of the 4th c. BC, quickly spreading throughout the Hellenistic and Roman world, and remaining in use into late antiquity (Hübner 2006:29; ?). They seem to have taken over the function of small *lekythoi* and the even earlier *aryballoi* in ritual situations (Pemberton 1985:284–285). The vessel is mainly associated with funerary contexts, but is also found in public and household assemblages (Anderson-Stojanović 1987:106; Rotroff 1997:?).

We lack direct literary reference to the use and function of the unguentarium[14] – the term is coined by modern scholars reflecting the assumption that it was used to hold unguent, oil or other perfume products (Hübner 2006:27; cf. e.g. Walbank 2005:274; Winther Jacobsen 2006:393). This identification is supported by the small size and the connection with funerary rituals. Most of the ceramic unguentaria, however, are un-slipped and not very high-fired, allowing liquids to seep out through the walls fairly quickly (see experiments by Anderson-Stojanovic [1987:] and Rotroff [1997:]).

The few chemical and physical analyses done on residue from unguentaria show a range of substances: cosmetics (lead acetate; beeswax and resin; gypsum, calcite and hematite),

[14] The *vasa unguentaria* in Pliny Nat.Hist. 36.12 are made of alabaster, and it may be that the term *alabastron* has been used also for the clay and glass vessels, or *ampulla* (cf. Hellström 1965:24–25).

food (almond and rye flour mixture) and oils, while other hypotheses include wine, incense, spices, honey and garum (Anderson-Stojanović 1987; Hübner 2006:34–35; Paz-Peralta and Ortiz-Palomar 1996; Ribechini et al. 2008). The majority of analyses have been performed on contents from glass vessels, which tend to preserve content better than ceramics, and in some cases have even been found to seal completely through fusion of the neck during (cremation) fire (Robin and Silvino 2012:187). Here, the most common residue is vegetable fats, with different traces of other plant components added, leading Robin and Silvino (2012:187-188) to the conclusion that scented oil, perfumed with plant extracts, is a plausible explanation of the contents.

5.1.1 Typology

The introduction of glass-blowing, originating in Syro-Palestine in the mid-1st century BC, made glass vessels more affordable and accessible (Lightfoot 1989:23; Stern 1995:37–38, 44). The older technique of forming closed glass vessels by winding strips of glass around a core, which was used to produce unguentaria, alabastra and amphoriskoi in the 3rd to 1st centuries BC, was quickly overtaken and fell out of use (Henderson 2013:223–226). Soon, blown glass started taking over also for the ceramic unguentaria, and by the end of the 1st century AD the ceramic types are no longer used in most parts of the empire (Robinson 1959:15–16; Anderson-Stojanović 1987:113; cf. Petr. Sat. 50-51: "Me, I prefer glass, it for sure doesn't smell. If it wasn't so easily broken, I would prefer it to gold. – And now it is even cheap.").

Before taking over the marked completely, however, the new glass shapes were imitated by potters, resulting in a marked change in the shapes of the later ceramic unguentaria. This change is pictured in Camilli's (1999) attempt at a general shape-typology of unguentaria as the difference between her Group B, fusiforms, and Group C, piriforms. The fusiform unguentaria are assigned to the Hellenistic period and mostly disappear with the introduction of blown glass-unguentaria towards the end of the 1st c. BC (Dusenbery 1998:800).

In Hierapolis, however, as in many parts of Asia Minor, and also in Thrace and Cyprus, unguentaria of the two types of material coexisted for several centuries (Anderson-Stojanović 1987:113). According to Laflı's presentation of Pisidian and Kilikian unguentaria, the fusiform clay vessels seem to prevail until the 3rd c. AD (cf. Laflı 2003:32). Laflı does base his study on museum collections with often sketchy contextual information, but closed single-grave contexts in Laodikeia, with fusiform unguentaria found together with lamps and/or coins, supports stretching the chronology for this type

to at least the last quarter of the 2nd century AD (Şimşek et al. 2011:75–76). Şimşek considers these late fusiform unguentaria imitations of the Hellenistic type. They are, however, clearly distinguishable from their Hellenistic counterparts, particularly in the soft, even transitions between foot, body and neck and their lack of a clearly off-set base, but also in that they share rim features and fabric with contemporary non-fusiform types (cf UN.T5a-c in Şimşek et al. 2011:76–78; and "mittelrömische langhalsige Flasche mit spindelförmigem Bauch" in Laflı 2003:106–107).

The piriform (though they often look more onion-shaped than pear-shaped) unguentaria are flat-based and usually have a low centre of gravity. Above the bulbous body, the neck is marked by a clear change of direction, and features a vertical or slightly outward leaning wall. The rim is short, but outward splaying or even downturned. These are the (probable) imitations of glass-blown vessels appearing in the second half of the 1st century BC and lasting a little over a century (Anderson-Stojanović 1987:110–113). In Laodikeia, a large variety of the type, UN.T3b - j, seems to exist side by side in the Augustan period, with a few of the more slender types surviving up towards the end of the 1st century AD (Şimşek et al. 2011:67–74). None of them, however, are close to the popularity of the slimmer UN.T3k (ibid. 74).

A third type, which is neither included in Camilli, nor found in any other publication outside Asia Minor, has been labeled *ovoid unguentaria* in this work due to the slender, ovoid body. Vessels of this type exhibit a flat base cutting off the lower part of the body, but share the lack of a clear transition between body and neck, and the wide, splaying rim with the late fusiform type. In Laflı's corpus, it is found to be particularly popular in Pisidia, but also occurring in Cilicia, and mainly belonging to graves of the first century AD (Laflı 2003:97–98, 105–106). Şimşek groups this type as UN.T3k[15], UN.T3l and UN.T4 in Laodikeia, where it dates to the last half of the 1st century AD, extending into the first half of the 2nd c.

None of the unguentarium-shaped vessels termed *Late Antique Unguentaria* by Hayes (1971) were found in the excavations included in this project. As showed by Cottica (2000), however, they were used in the area of the martyrion in the 6th and 7th centuries,

[15] UN.T3ı-k are intermediate forms, and the reason for grouping UN.T3k as an ovoid type and the others as piriforms is mainly the difference in body-neck transition. UN.T3l, however, have a very clear ovoid body, but also a marked transition to the neck.

and a considerable number have also been found in Laodicea (Şimşek and Duman 2007). Large concentrations of the type are often found in connection with pilgrimage sites and metropoleis or bishop seats, which might imply a role in the Christian sphere, e.g. as containers of holy water or sacred oil (Şimşek and Duman 2007:302).

5.1.2 Tomb 159d

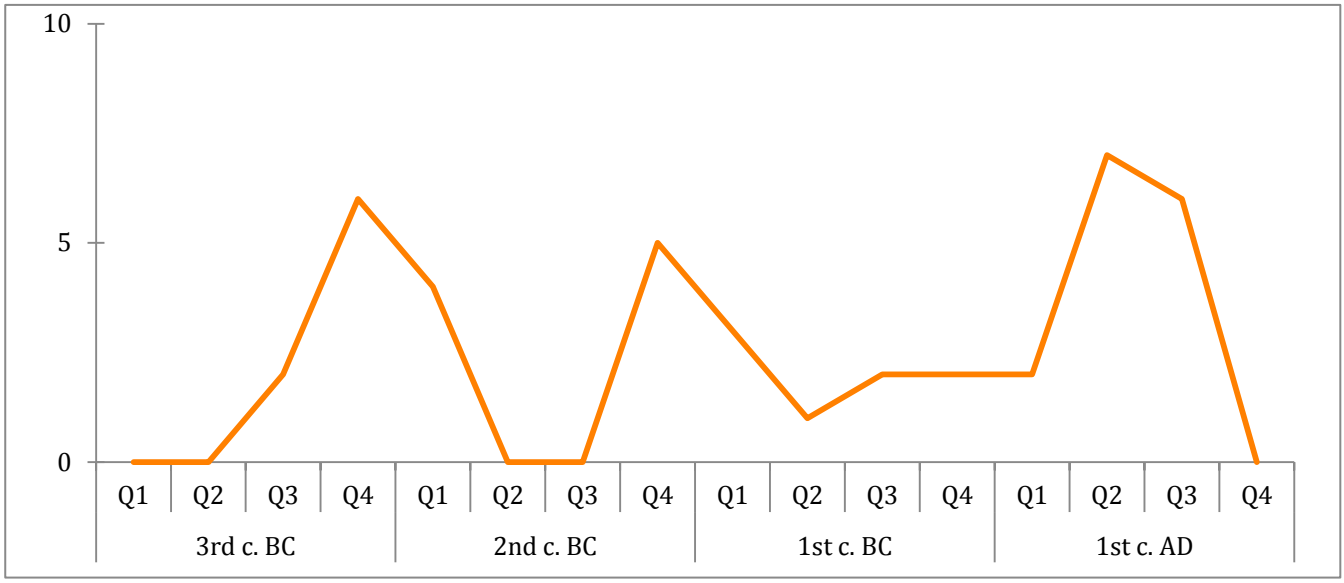

Figure 10: Chronological distribution of unguentaria in tomb 159d

A total of twenty-one complete or nearly complete unguentaria were found inside the burial chamber of 159d, three of which were of glass, the remaining made from clay. Okunak (2005:28–38) divided them into seven groups based on shape and fabric, which again form three chronological concentrations (see **Error! Reference source not found.**10).

The first two vessels (**2001/11** and **2001/14**) have been termed *lekythoi-shaped*: They have broad, off-set bases followed by a narrow, concave foot, bulging body and concave neck, leading to a broad, out-turned rim. The curved profile of the body is only broken by a rather sharp kink in the shoulder, upon which a set of decorative horizontal miniature-handles are symmetrically placed. They were slipped in thick, glossy red over a yellow or pale brown fabric. Similar types have been found in Kerameikos (Kovacsovics 1990:123) and the Izmir Museum collection (Tuluk 1999:132, 145), giving a date in the last half of the 3rd century BC.

The following four (**2001/12**, **2001/13**, **2001/23** and **2001/24**) can be placed in the last quarter of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd, thus concluding the earliest group

of finds. Compared to the first group, the neck has grown longer, and the marked shoulder is gone. So are the handles and the glossy red slip: the pale brown/yellow fabric is visible for most of the vessel, but decorative bands of slip have been applied on the body. This fabric points towards a local Lycos Valley production, presumably either in Hierapolis or Laodikeia (Okunak :33-34). The shape, and especially the rim, share a lot of similarities with the *domed*-mouth unguentaria from Knidos and Cyprus (Dotterweich 1999; Marzec 2011).

2001/32 seems to be of the same pale fabric as the earlier group, but has a very long, straight neck and also a prolonged foot. The transition from neck to body is sharp, giving the body an upside-down pear shape, and although the rim has an outward resemblance with the previous, the domed inside is missing. Similarities in shape, if not in fabric, are found in *Izmir Museum*, Pergamon and Asine, dating it to the last half of the 2nd century BC (Tuluk 1999:133–136).

Also the next four vessels (**2001/8**, **2001/9**, **2001/10** and **2001/15**) belong to the same general type of early Late-Hellenistic unguentaria from the late 2nd and early first century BC (as defined by Tuluk [1999:133-134], cf. also type D from Stobi [Anderson-Stojanovic 1992] and Sardis parallels [Rotroff and Oliver 2003:70). These have a smoothly curved profile, going from a slightly concave neck, through a bulging, but somewhat slimmer than earlier, body into a medium high, concave foot. **/8** and **/15** feature the triangular rim found in earlier vessels, while **/9** and **/10** have a thinner, down-turned one. **/8** is set apart by a light red fabric and a lustrous, red slip, leading Okunak (2005:32) to compare it with the Pergamene sigillata and to argue for a case of import from Pergamon. The other three have slips in varying thickness and gloss in brown and red, and are made of the local fabric.

The following two objects are presented as transitional types between fusiform and piriform unguentaria. **2001/33** exhibits a straight, slightly out-turned rim, a cylindrical neck, an oval body and a short, conical off-set base or ring. This is a well attested shape, found e.g. in *Izmir Museum* and dated to the end of the 1st century BC (Tuluk 1999:135-136). A darker (dusky red) slip is used inside and around the neck, with drip-marks down the body – a technique which is much used on the unguentaria of the Roman period (Robinson 1959:15).

2001/35 is considerably lower than the previous ones, has a nearly globular body, and the foot is reduced to a short, conical off-set flat base. The neck is concave and the rim triangular. According to Okunak (2005:34), this type is local, but should be dated to the middle or second half of the 1st century. It does, however, have a profile very similar to the

smaller examples of Camilli's types A11.2-3 and A12.3, the early Hellenistic *lekythoidi*, but no close parallels have been found in Asia Minor (Camilli 1999:50–55).

Of the five piriform clay unguentaria, two have an elongated pear-shape with no shoulder, but a smooth transition to a concave neck (**2001/16** and **2001/34**), while the rest feature a straight, cylindrical neck rising from a bulbous body (**2001/17**, **2001/18** and **2001/25**). **/16**, **/18** and **/25** have dark slip on the upper neck, rim and inside the opening. Okunak makes a distinction between the two first, which he places in the first half of the 1st century AD, and the remaining three, dated to the middle of the 1st century AD. Considering the close parallel for the latter group from the Augustan era in Laodikeia (Şimşek et al. 2011:70), however, it's hard to justify this delineation.

5.1.3 Tomb 163d

Among the twenty whole and partial unguentaria found in the tomb, there are three main forms – the piriform, the late fusiform, and the ovoid. Six bulbous ones were found on the benches, mainly in the back corners, while the remaining fourteen unguentaria were found in the aisle or in adjacent squares, possibly indicating a primary deposition on the benches, from which they later fell down or were pushed away. Three unguentaria were also found inside one of the large jars (no. **4**). In all three groups, there are vessels showing traces of slip around the rim and the top of the neck, but they are otherwise mostly undecorated (cf. Anderson-Stojanović 1987:114)

Twelve vessels are of the piriform type. Three of these (**286**, **1512** and **1552**) are only neck and rim, one is a neckless body (**165**), while the remaining are complete. The general shape of these unguentaria belongs to type C33 from Camilli (1999:141–145) – "piriform body and short neck" – most of which fall within the last quarter of the 1st century BC to the first half of 1st century AD. The closest parallel in Laodikeia are the types UN.T3e and UN.T3g, both of which can be dated to the Augustan era (Şimşek et al. 2011:69–71).

For Laflı, the shapes correspond with the Cilician Imperial types III and IV, covering the last half of the 1st century BC to the early 2nd century AD, but could also be fitted into type XIV, ranging from the last half of the 1st century AD to the early 3rd, or even 4th century AD (Laflı 2003:92–93, 95), while Günay Tuluk (1999:136–139) assigns comparable vessels form *Izmir Museum* to the first half of the 1st century AD. A date in the Augustan era or the first half of the 1st c. AD thus seems probable.

The four fusiform unguentaria (nos. **5**, **505, 875** and **915**) all belong to the late fusiform shapes described by Şimşek et al. (2011:75-78) in the UN.T5-type. They are about 25 cm

tall, have slip painted on the rim and upper neck, but are otherwise undecorated. The rim is extending both inwards and outwards, ending in edges at both ends and creating a rounded area on top. In the case of **5**, the outward lip is larger and splaying downwards. **875** features a nearly conical foot clearly off-set from the body by a small step and an incised line, and might belong to the same type as cat. no. 761 from the Laodikeia Necropolis, found in an Augustan context (type UN.T5a). The remaining are closer to type UN.T5c, covering the beginning of the 1st century AD to the third quarter of the 2nd century, and the small difference between the groups combined with the tiny sample for UN.T5a in Laodikeia argues in favour of this longer time span also for **875**.

The label 'ovoid' has been assigned to five objects, of which two have been unavailable for closer study (**6** and **7**, two of the three unguentaria found inside the large jar **4**), and one lacks the rim and upper part of the neck (**513**). Still, **7** can be seen to have a wide ovoid body, similar to those of UN.T3l from Laodikeia, but with a soft body-neck transition, closer to the type UN.T4 (Şimşek et al. 2011). The base is flat, the neck is decorated with spiralling rills, and the rim is widely out-turned and downward-splaying. The same rim is seen in **526** and **763**, and proves to be a more extreme variant of the rims found in the late fusiform unguentaria, having protruding lips both inwards and downwards on the outside of the vessel. **526** has a fairly low point of greatest body width, and a steady transition from body to neck, placing it together with the UN.T3k group, while **763** has a clearly defined ovoid body, similar to those found in UN.T4 in Laodikeia. The neckless **513** is somewhere in between, but still within the UN.T4 range. **763** has had its rim and upper neck dipped in dark/dusky red slip, and exhibits bands in light red and reddish brown nuances around the body and neck. In Laodikeia, the UN.T3k spans all the way from the Augustan era to the middle of the 2nd century AD, while UN.3l and UN.T4 are both restricted to the century from 50 to 150 AD (Şimşek et al. 2011:73–75).

5.1.4 HNE tombs

During the excavation of T42/C92, six unguentaria meeting the criteria for inclusion in this work were found. Only two of these (**SF11-12** and **SF12-23**) were complete, and some were scattered over several contexts in many fragments. With the exception of **SF12-23**, all of these belong to the ovoid group, but fragments of both bulbous (i.a. of the UN.T3f or g and UN.T3i types) and late fusiform unguentaria have been found in and around the tomb. So far, only four unguentarium-sherds have been identified in T51/91. The two of these that are diagnostic, a rim and a base, both probably stem from ovoid vessels.

SF11-12 and the three incomplete ovoid unguentaria from T42/C92 have similar profiles, comparable to vessels in the UN.T3k type in Laodikeia that have body shapes closer to UN.T4 (e.g. Cat.nos 49, 426 and 585 in Şimşek et al. 2011:???). The bases are flat, the bodies ovoid with the widest point clearly above the base, the transitions to the necks are smooth, and the two preserved rims bend out- and downwards, forming a rounded upper end, but lacking the characteristic inward edge found in 163d. **Join-set 23** is made in a reddish-yellow clay and features a thick internal slip in dark reddish brown. The other four have a very pale brown or yellow fabric and an internal coating in very dark gray slip with highly variable thickness. **SF11-12** additionally has had its upper neck dipped in the slip, which has spilled down the neck and body.

SF12-23 is a piriform unguentarium with a wide, slightly pushed-in base, triangular body and a long, straight neck, not dissimilar to the glass candlestick-unguentaria found in 159d. The rim is flaring with a rounded lip. Parallel examples in clay have been published from Samothrace (XS-197 in Dusenbery 1998:800–801) and from *Izmir Museum* (cat. nos. 116 & 118 in Tuluk 1999:138–139), and have been dated to the fourth quarter of the 1st century AD or the first quarter of the 2nd. Ceramic imitations of glass candlestick shapes are also attested in Thrace and on Cyprus beginning at the end of the 1st century AD (cf. Anderson-Stojanović 1987:113).

5.1.5 Glass vessels

The change from ceramic to glass unguentaria is in all likelihood a purely technological shift; there are no indications that the glass unguentaria should have had a different role as grave gifts from that of the ceramic ones. Thus, the glass unguentaria should ideally have been included and analysed on equal footing with the ceramic counterparts. Due to the high fragmentation of the glass from the HNE tombs, however, this has not been done for all tombs. C92/42 contained 220 glass fragments, which mostly belong to unguentaria (Ahrens et al. 2013:14). Future study of the material will certainly give results to fill in the gap in this analysis, but for now it should be kept in mind that this is lacking in the graphical representations.

Figure 11: Alabastron, 163d

The glass objects from 163d have been analysed by Céline Aunay (*forthcoming*). From the 205 fragments recovered, she has identified a MNI of 18, eight of which are complete and unbroken. Although the majority are typologically placed in the 1st century AD, the glass is mostly colourless – a feature not widespread in the West till the 2nd century.

One of the vessels is not blown, but core-made. This is a nearly completely preserved alabastron (figure 11), which by virtue of a Cypriot parallel can be assigned a date in the first half of the 1st century BC (Aunay *forthcoming*). The early date could potentially be explained, as Aunay does, with the object being an heirloom, which has been passed on through one or more generations before being placed in the tomb. The uniqueness of this type of object, and the higher value of pre-blowing-technique glass makes this plausible, but the proximity between the date of the object and the earliest proposed use of the tomb in the late 1st century BC, also opens for the possibility that the production date should be adjusted.

Several complete vessels are of Isings form 6 (cf. Isings 1957:22–2), the bulbous, short-necked unguentaria which served as the models for the pear-shaped clay types. These are of the earliest blown glass unguentaria, appearing in the second half of the 1st century BC, and used into the second half of the 1st century AD. Another group falls in Isings category no. 8, with a longer, more tubular body and a small or rounded base, while a few display intermediary shapes between these two forms. Isings 8 are found in contexts from the first half of the 1st century AD, but only become numerous in the second half, and disappear again early in the 2nd century (Isings 1957:24). Also Isings form 28, and possibly form 26, are represented in fragments. These have a similar chronology to that of Isings 8, but are in use throughout the 2nd century (Isings 1957:40–43). Interestingly, both form 6, 26 and 28 are mirrored in the ceramic inventory (cf. e.g. **196**, **1465**, and **222**, respectively), showing how glass and ceramics were used side-by-side.

Two larger vessels, close to Isings forms 101 and 104, have probable dates in the 3rd or 4th century AD, are argued to be bottles for libations or commemorative dining, rather than unguentaria (Aunay forthcoming).

Laforest et al. (forthcoming: 5) remark that unlike the ceramic unguentaria, six of the complete glass vessels were found in close proximity to skeletons, but that the exact placement varied. Although possibly coincidental, this might reflect the fact that more caution was taken with fragile glass than with the more durable pottery.

The final group of unguentaria from 159d are the three glass vessels. **2001/27** and **2001/28** are reminiscent of the *candlestick*-type, with a triangular body and a long,

slender neck, but the bodies here are taller, and, especially in the case of **/28** quite rounded (cf. Isings 1957:97–99). The rims are made by turning the upper part of the neck down along the side and folding it back up, creating a thick overhanging end. **/28** features a lightly incised band around the body, and another marking, and slightly constraining the transition from body to neck. A similar vessel from Samothrace is dated to ca. 25 AD, and Okunak places that in the first half of the 1st century AD (Dusenbery 1998:1115–1116; Okunak 2005:37). The third glass unguentarium, **2001/26**, is of a piriform type also found in ceramic (see Camilli C23 and Laodikeia UN.T3g), with a bulbous body, a medium tall cylindrical neck set off from the body by a constricting impression, and a flat rim folding out from the top and inwards again. It corresponds to the Laodikeia type CA.T3b, dated to the Augustan era, and to finds in Samothrace with a similar date, and Okunak positions it in the first half of the 1st century AD (Şimşek et al. 2011; Dusenbery 1998:1107, 1109; Okunak 2005).

5.1.6 Discussion and Conclusion

Based on Şimşek's finds from the necropolis of nearby Laodikeia, the majority of the unguentaria would fall within the 1st and first half of the 2nd centuries AD. Laflı (2003) claims a longer chronology, streching the bulbous into the 2nd century, and placing the late fusiform in the 3rd century AD.

However, a further complete unguentarium (**SF12-10**) was excavated from a *3rd century AD* context in the deep cist-grave T322. This is of the same type as the majority of the ovoid unguentaria from T42/C92 (Selsvold).

In view of this, and the construction- and use-dates of the tombs in this study, I will propose adjusting the dates for the unguentarium-types in Hierapolis slightly.

Comparing the piriform types in 159d and 163d, while considering their complete absence in the HNE-tombs they must have been in use in the 1st half of the 1st century AD, but not produced any longer by the end of the century.

The late fusiform neither occurs in 159d, nor in the HNE-tombs, suggesting that, if the differences in distribution are merely chronological, they should belong to the last half of the 1st century.

The ovoid is not found in 159d, but occurs in 163d and is the only form in the HNE-tombs. The find of one in the T322-context (most likely) dating to the early 3rd century, indicates that they were in use in Hierapolis later than suggested in the Laodikeia material. A chronological development from a very deep body (e.g. **526** in 163d) towards the more

clearly defined ovoid shape in the HNE-vessels and the UN.T4-types from 163d seems plausible, with a main period of use for the latter in the 2nd century.

5.2 Lamps

Terracotta oil lamps have been used in the Mediterranean in varying forms at least since the early Bronze Age, either modelled by hand, thrown on the wheel or formed in a mould (cf. Bailey 1975:3–6, 12). All lamps in the present work were made using the latter technique. Mould-forming arose in 3rd century BC in Athens, and from the end of the last century BC Italian mould-made lamps outcompeted the wheel-thrown types across the Mediterranean (Howland 1958:129–130). This allowed, on the one hand, for industrial scale production of standardized forms, and on the other for a wide variety of decorative elements.

Early typologies were made by Dressel (in CIL XV.2 [1899]), Loeschcke (1919) and Broneer (1930). Loeschcke's study of 1st century AD lamps and Broneer's analysis of the lamps from Corinth are still widely referred to, although searching for parallels is necessary for greater precision in the dating. For this, the catalogues of the lamps from the British Museum are invaluable (Bailey 1975; Bailey and Miller 1980; Bailey and Bird 1988).

In western Asia Minor, as in the empire at large, the lamps represent a mix of locally (or regionally) produced wares and external imports (Heimerl 2001:35–37; Leibundgut 1977:11; Hughes et al. 1988).

In the 1st century AD types and motives spread quickly throughout the Roman world from the major centre of production in Rome, and the multiplicity of shapes is combined with homogeneity in distribution (Heimerl 2001:17; cf. Loeschcke 1919:249). From the 2nd century, however, the development takes different courses in different regions, and comparanda must be used with caution (Heimerl 2001:8, 17). To determine the exact place of production has not been attempted in this study – it would require a far larger corpus, and could not contribute substantially to the research questions raised here.

The variation in shape is mirrored in the iconography, but again the diversity is standardized. The same motives are not only found on lamps of different types and origins, they are even found to be used for small-size illustrations on different object groups, including engraved gems, coins and terra sigillata (Heimerl 2001:8–10). Leibundgut (1977:187–199) postulated the existence of *Musterbüchern,* circulating with a standard set of motives,

though engravers working with multiple materials and active copying would also explain the similarities. Iconological analyses of the motives are few, and have merely suggested a broad span in the themes of the images from Roman state propaganda, through motives with significance for death and funerary rituals, to purely decorative elements (Heimerl 2001:8), leading Bailey to conclude that "this factor does not seem to have concerned the buying public generally" (Bailey and Miller 1980:6).

Oil lamps were used alongside candles and torches in domestic and public settings as a source of light. They could also represent metaphorical illumination, however, and have had an important role in sanctuaries as votive offerings or taking part in the performance of the cult, and in funerary contexts (Walters 1914:xiv–xv).

The custom of leaving lamps in graves seems to have taken form only in the 4th century BC, but was by Roman imperial times common throughout the empire (Kurtz and Boardman 1971:211; Toynbee 1971). It has been remarked that these lamps often show no signs of use, or alternatively have only very little sooth around the nozzle, indicating that they were either never lit, or lit at only one occasion (e.g. Walters 1914:XV; Alcock 1980:60). Alcock (1980:60–61) interprets that they "were needed to provide light for the dead on their way to the Otherworld, they made the dead feel at home in their new, strange surroundings and they served as a link between the living and the dead."

5.2.1 Tomb 159d

159d contained three lamps, all of them mould-made and complete or nearly complete. **2001/19** and **2001/37** are of a Hellenistic type often set in connection with Ephesus and Pergamon (Şimşek et al. 2011:79–80), although the only comparable example in the BM Catalogue is an "East Greek unattributed" lamp (Q474 in Bailey 1975:202–203). Very similar lamps were, however, also produced in Laodikeia, as proven by the excavation of a second century BC pottery kiln north of the city (Şimşek and Duman 2013), and the type was found both during the HNE excavations and in other tumuli in the North Necropolis of Hierapolis (Equini Schneider 1972:pl. XXVIIb). They have a round body from which a long rounded nozzle is drawn out, ending in a large wick-hole. Quadrangular knobs or lugs are placed on each side of the body, and a vertical double-ribbed band-handle is attached to the back (**/19** has had its handle broken off). The discus is undecorated and nearly flat with a filling-hole in the centre, but some moulded decoration appears on the shoulder. **/19** features sets of small, four-leafed rosette-stamps, while **/37** has an ornament of ivy leaves and fruits on each side of the discus. **/37** exhibits a smaller filling hole than **/19**, but has had an oval air-hole added behind the wick-hole. **/19** is made from pale, buff clay, and

is covered in matte black slip; the fabric of **/37** is light red, and it has a thick, red slip. They are dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century BC or the beginning of the 1st .

The third lamp, **2001/20**, is a Loeschcke type I belonging in the last quarter of the 1st century BC or the first half of the 1st century AD (Loeschcke 1919:211–220; cf. Bailey and Miller 1980:132). On the handle-less, circular body, the discus takes up nearly all the space, with the motif of a winged Nike with one hand raised (meant to hold a shield or wreath?), encircled by rills leading up to the shoulder (cf. discus-scene *I(b)iv Victoria* in Bailey and Miller 1980:26–28). The nozzle is a mid-broad triangular shape with volutes leading back to the body. A double-punched air-hole is located between the volutes.

5.2.2 Tomb 163d

Some twenty fragments of lamps have been found in the tomb, representing a (conservative) Minimum Number of Vessels of nine. Few are large or distinct enough for typological identification, and only one is complete enough to be included in the analysis. All fragments containing shoulder- and handle-profiles (**151**, **529**, **533** and **728**) fall within the wide group of Loeschcke type VIII lamps, which in the necropoleis of Laodikeia is found in 1st and 2nd century AD contexts (Şimşek et al. 2011:pl. 137). **366** and **850** make up about 70% of a circular discus, showing an ivy wreath with leaves and berries tied in a bow at the top, and having a single, central filling hole. The same motif is found on a Loeschcke VIII lamp from Labraunda and a Loeschcke IV from the necropolis of Thera, but no further information on the type is given (Hellström 1965:83; Dragendorff 1903:76); the occurrence of floral-wreath decoration is referred to as "more common on lamps of the first century, and early second century AD, than later ..." in BMC Lamps II (Bailey and Miller 1980:88).

One lamp, **1545**, is preserved intact. This is a Loeschcke VIII lamp with a shape as type P or Q in the BM catalogue of Italian lamps, and KA.T9a-c in Laodikeia Nekropolü, dated between the last quarter of the 1st century AD and the middle of the 3rd or end of the 2nd century, respectively (Bailey and Miller 1980:314–376; Şimşek et al. 2011). The discus is decorated with a bird (a dove) with raised wings sitting on a myrtle branch – a common theme in the first two centuries AD (cf. e.g. Q2429 from Cyprus and Q3032 from Ephesus in BMC Lamps III). The lamp appears worn, but it is not possible to say whether this is caused by use, or is a result of the preservation – some darker areas around the nozzle could be soot.

5.2.3 T42/C92

T42/C92 contained a total of 42 lamp finds, but only a single complete, unbroken one, and a further two with enough of the lamp found to be included in this catalogue. **F556** is a Loeschcke VIII-lamp comparable in general shape to **1545** above (type P or Q in BMC Lamps II; Laodikeia KA.T9a-d), and should be dated similarly to the last quarter of the 1st century AD or the 2nd century. The lamp is very crudely made, with uneven shoulders and an asymmetrical body – potentially the result of a heavily worn mould. The discus decoration is hardly legible, but could be seen to resemble a bird-on-bough theme. Of the next lamp (**F791 + F3096**), nozzle, discus and most of the handle is missing, making exact identification difficult. The body shape resembles that of a Loeschcke VIII, however, and the shoulder is decorated with three rows of raised globules. This combination corresponds to the Pergamene group 8c-lamps from the last half of the 1st century AD and the first half of the 2nd, but also to Type Q(x) and R in BMC Lamps II and KA.T9e from Laodikeia, covering the late 2nd century to the end of the 5th. The base decoration or mark, could potentially help narrow the scope, but no parallel has been found for this. The last of the lamps from T42/C92 was scattered throughout the tomb – the reconstructed lamp contains fragments from eight different contexts (**Join-set 24**). It is of the later Broneer type XXIX, with a small, undecorated discus and a correspondingly larger and decorated shoulder. A handle is completely missing, as is most of the nozzle, but of the base enough is preserved to recognise a low base-ring. The decoration consists of tendrils stretching forward from the back of the lamp and triangular groups of raised globules depicting grapes or berries. Form and decoration are similar to Laodikeia KA.T14g (second half of the 4th century AD to the beginning of the 7th century) , and the decoration is further found on Q3161 in BMC Lamps III from Ephesus, dated to the 6th century. No sooth or other use marks can be seen.

5.2.4 T51/C91

Within a small area, immediately on top of the west bench in T51/C91, were four lamps belonging in the last half of the 1st and the 2nd century AD. Apart from these, only four minor fragments of lamps have been found in the tomb. **F4033** is of the Loeschcke V-type with a low body, pierced ring-handle, and a long and rounded nozzle with single-ended volutes. The base is flat and has a simple *planta* pedis. This shape is noted in Athens and Pergamon in the last quarter of the 1st century AD and the first half of the 2nd (Group 8a in Heimerl 2001:54; nos. 114-117, 158 in Perlzweig 1961). The red slip is nearly worn off, and the nozzle is covered in black sooth. Most of the handle is broken off, and the nozzle is

pieced together of several fragments, but the lamp is otherwise complete. It is decorated with ovules all around the shoulder, and shows a sitting, winged toddler (Eros) playing with a hare in the discus. A near identical discus scene is found on a lamp from London, dated to the second half of the 1st century AD (Q1500PRB in BMC Lamps III:158).

The following three fall into the wide Loeschcke VIII category. **F4036** is a perfectly preserved example of the type described as *fatties* with shoulder form VIII and ring-handles (O(v) in BMC Lamps II:303-304). The nozzle is of the Loeschcke K variety, and the base is flat, with a small oblong mark, similar to a foot mark. A frontal eagle with slightly raised wings and its head turned sharply right fills the discus, and has displaced the filling hole to the left edge. In Italy, this iconography "[a]ppear on lamps of the later first century and first half of the second c.", while the shape is typically Flavian to early Trajanic (BMC Lamps II:80-81, 303). The next, **F4053**, has a larger discus and flatter body than the previous, and a wide base offset by a low base ring. Due to the missing nozzle and handle, precise determination is difficult, but the lamp is most likely part of the BMC Lamps II Type O (second half of the 1st century AD – first half of the 2nd century), or potentially P or Q (2nd and 3rd centuries AD). The discus shows, on a stand line, a figure wearing a Phrygian cap or helmet, with wings attached either to the back of the person or to the headgear, holding a spear against a charging goat (!). Comparanda for the scene or similar iconography have not been found, except potentially on **F4054**. Only a small part of its discus is preserved, but this shows a goat or sheep in a similar position. Again, the nozzle is missing, and a more precise typological description than for F4053 has not been made, despite the presence of a pierced ring handle with incised lines, a low base ring, marked by incised lines, and a *planta pedis*-stamp.

Of further interest for tomb 51/C91 is the lamp from the deposit next to the tomb's fundament mentioned above. This is of type O(ii) from BMC Lamps II, and has a close parallel in the Pergamene no. 269 in Heimerl (2001:119), giving a date in the second half of the 1st century AD. As the deposit was clearly made in connection with the tomb structure – potentially marking the consecration, this contributes to the dating of the construction of the tomb.

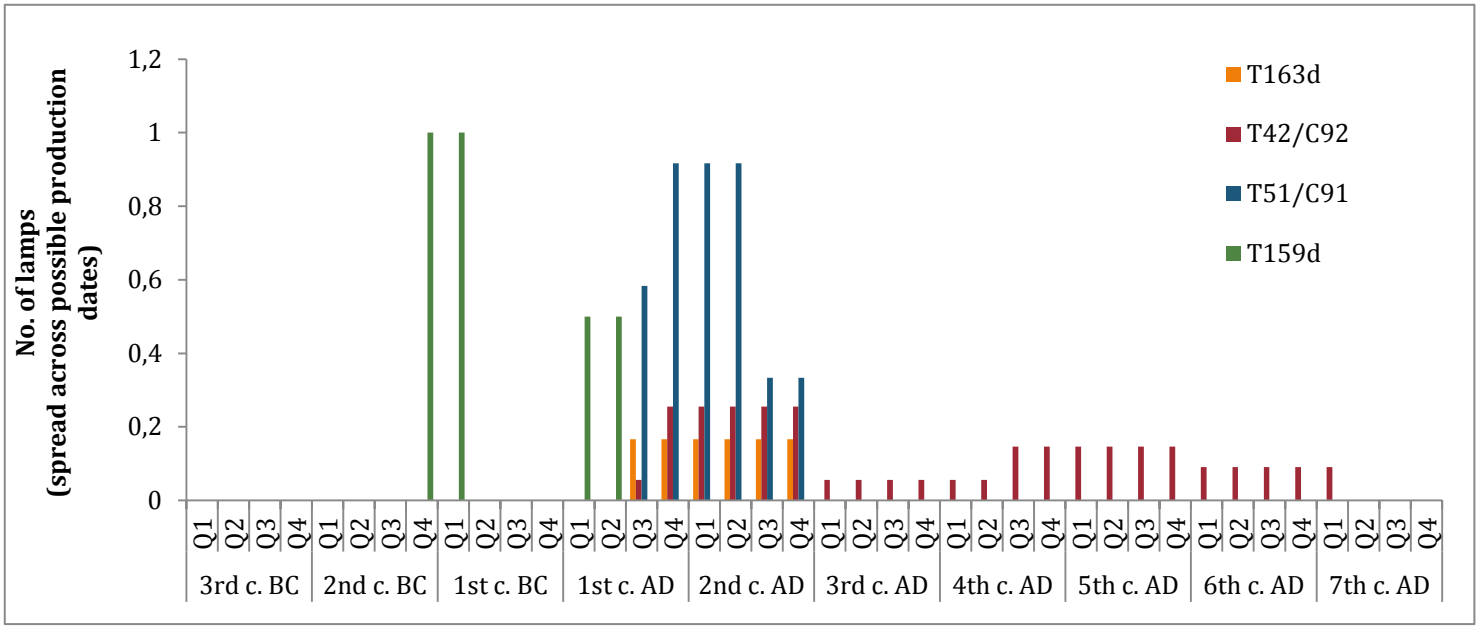

Figure 12: Lamp chronology

5.2.5 Discussion

The total number of lamps is far too low to make a comprehensive statistical analysis of the material. Exactly this, however, might be the most important point to make based on the material – in the four tombs combined, each with a use spanning several centuries, only eleven lamps were found, seven or eight of which belong to the first two centuries AD. One interpretation is to see this as clear evidence that lamps were not a standard paraphernalia in the funerary rites carried out in the tomb; even during the first and second centuries their inclusion must have been optional. The other possibility is to argue for a removal of lamps from the grave contexts – either that lamps used in the burials were never deposited, but brought back, or that lamps left as grave goods were cleaned out in connection with rearrangements and later reuse. Although not much information is available from other tombs in Hierapolis, two illustrations in Equini Schneider (1972:pl. XXV–b and XVII–b) show the finds from the opening of a single tumulus, containing no less than 45 lamps of Hellenistic and Roman types! This highlights the danger of making generalisations for Hierapolitan funerary customs on the basis of the very limited selection of excavated tombs. Still, the variation within the material is striking, and should be kept in mind in further discussions.

5.3 Storage and Cooking Ware

Very few pottery vessels have been found apart from the lamps and unguentaria. Three small bowls, one each in 159d, 163d and T42/C92, and three larger storage jars from 163d is all we have in more than fragmentary preservation. No cooking ware, and no typical dining ware have been found. It could be interesting to look at the pottery from the *entire* Area B, however, where the trenches outside the tombs have yielded more cooking ware, to see if that could lead to a different picture of the situation.

Storage jars from 163d could potentially have functioned as urns, as the reports of traces of burnt bone in one of them suggest, or could theoretically also have contained water for purification rites, as is found both in Jewish and in Greek contexts (Hachlili 2005:484; Kurtz and Boardman 1971:150–152)

Figure 13: Terracotta figurine, T42/C92

5.4 Figurines

A few examples of figurines emerged from the tombs. In 163d, several bone fragments found in the central space were found to be part of a Victoria figure sculpted from the long bone of an animal (Laforest et al.:5).

C42/92 contained three terracotta objects which can be classified as figurines. One, a grotesque head, about 5 cm long, is of a type frequently seen in Western Anatolia (Ahrens 2010:2). Also a bird figurine, possibly a dove or a rooster, has parallels in funerary contexts, e.g. in Samothrace and in Athens (Dusenbery 1998:934–939). The third is the back part and the arms of a full-figure human figurine with bright red and black/dark grey paint which is preserved (figure 13). The hands are formed so as to hold other objects, and a preliminary interpretation suggests that it might have represented a charging soldier or a gladiator, holding a sword or spear in the right hand and a shield in the left (cf. Manson 1987:24).

Explaining the figurines' function is not straightforward. Dusenbery (1998:844–845) sees the funerary role of Hellenistic and Roman terracotta figurines from Samothrace as transitory, being used in the burial rites and neither "intended as 'grave gifts' to accompany the dead [nor] 'prized personal possessions'" (contrary to Walbank 2005:258). This view stems from the observation that the majority of them were found broken in fill material, and were not directly part of a grave context. The use, she continues, was rather that of votives, applying the figurines as symbolic offerings either to a divinity on behalf of the dead, or to the dead him- or herself. In other places, however, figurines in graves have been interpreted as children's toys and dolls, in which case they should be seen as personal belongings following a dead child (Manson 1987:21–22).

5.5 Numismatic Material

Coins are common, but far from compulsory in graves throughout the Greco-Roman area (e.g. Ceci 2001; Stevens 1991). The phenomenon is attested from 5th century BC Greece to the 5th century AD (Kurtz and Boardman 1971:211; Stevens 1991:223), but can be traced later as a remain of pagan ritual in Christianity (Alcock 1980:59) – and has in some places survived until modern times (Ceci 2001:91; Alcock 1980:57–59). In the cemetery excavations surveyed by Stevens, coin presence ranges from approximately 10% to 50% of the Roman period burials (Stevens 1991:224).

Funerary coin finds occur in a large variety of constellations, based on which they have been categorised into *Wurfmünzen*, coins thrown into the grave by mourners, *Börsenmünzen*, money kept in a purse, *pars-pro-toto-Münzen*, meant to represent the wealth of the deceased, and finally, the Charons-obol (Köstner 2011:2). The latter is based on a series of ancient sources (i.a. Strabo *Gegraphy* 8.6.12, Juvenal *Satires* 3.265-268 and, more humorously, Lucian *De Luctu* 9-10), describing how a coin would be placed in the mouth of the deceased as payment to the ferryman Charon for the fare across Styx or Acheron, and has been the standard explanation of coin finds in funerary contexts. As shown by Stevens (1991:224-226), however, the wide spectrum of uses should be considered, with their differing implications for the burial rites.

The Laodikeia Nekropolü publication exemplifies this: There are four instances of copper alloy coins found *in situ* in the mouth of the deceased, with coins dating from the Augustan Era to the early 3rd century (Şimşek et al. 2011:355, 513, 527, 648). This constitutes clear evidence of practice of the Charon's obol tradition during the Roman period in the immediate vicinity of Hierapolis. Simultaneously, however, does it show that these

examples are vastly outnumbered by coins *not* placed in the mouth, and burials without coin deposits.

The "religious-magical significance of coins rooted in the intimate connection between money and the other world" might be the common denominator for coins in funerary contexts (Stevens 1991:227), but there is also the possibility that the coins' value in burials sometimes had nothing to do with their monetary properties at all, but was due to their metal component. Various metals have been said to possess apotropaic powers, and coins were an easily available and disposable source (Ceci 2001).

5.5.1 Coin Finds

Two copper-alloy coins were found in 159d (Okunak 2005:60–61, 100–101, 198–199). Their obverses portraying and naming Augustus (ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ) and Claudius (ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ), respectively, provide secure dates. On the reverse, both show Apollon Kitharodos standing right, holding plectrum and cithara, and the Claudian coin bears the name of the local issuing magistrate, M Suillios Antiochos Grammateus, and the ethnos ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ (RPC I 2969; cf. Armstrong 1998:305). Due to Apollo's central position in Hierapolis, this iconography appears frequently on the city's coinage, and the local production is confirmed by the legend (Armstrong 1998:38–39, 58).

In 163d, the excavations revealed four coins, three from the fill in the central space and one lying on the south bench (Laforest et al.:11–12). All are of copper alloy, and the preservation is generally fairly poor, but three of them have been identified and dated. The one from the south bench is a Hierapolitan issue from the reign of Tiberius, with a reverse iconography similar to the ones from 169d – Apollo to the right bearing kithara and plectrum, this time naming Menandros as magistrate (RPC I 2964; Travaglini and Camilleri 2010:76 no. 252). One found in the upper layers of the central space fill, is from the Augustan Era, while another, positioned near the floor level, was dated to Marc Aurel.

A preliminary examination of the numismatic material from the HNE excavations has been conducted by Adriana Travaglini, focusing on identification and dating (Travaglini, pers. comm.).

Thus far, C91/51 have yielded three copper alloy coins, only one of which is preserved well enough to be identified. This dates to the first quarter of the 5th century, with the reverse reading *gloria romanorum*, and showing two emperors in arms holding a globe (cf. RIC X nos. 407-418). A gold *brachteate* constitutes a further interesting numismatic object from the tomb (figure 14). The impression, made by pressing thin gold foil over an existing coin, was folded, but this may as well have been accidental as intentional. Similar objects have been found in other Roman funerary contexts, e.g. in Corinth, and have roots in the Greek tradition (Walbank 2005:276–277; Kurtz and Boardman 1971:211). The *bracteate* shows a draped and possibly cuirassed bust of Nero with head bare (cf. RPC 3059, dated 50-54 AD). Too much remains to be excavated in C91/51 for any conclusions to be drawn concerning the tomb at large, but the *bracteate* contributes to the variation of possible grave gifts in Hierapolis.

A total of 25 coins were found in C92/42, 23 of which were in copper alloy, one in gold, and one probable coin in silver. Due to the mediocre preservation of the copper alloys, the degree of certainty of the determinations varies; three of the coins were completely illegible, ten have been given probable origin dates within one or two centuries, while the remaining twelve have been assigned to an issuing authority and have received more or less certain dates of production[16].

Figure 14: F4058 – Gold *brachteate*

From B99:3, one of the lowest contexts, comes a coin minted in Nacrasa in Lydia, featuring Syncletus, the personification of the Senate, on the obverse, and the bust of Roma on the reverse (cf. SNG v.A. 3032 and 8239). This is the only coin dated earlier than the 4th century in the tomb, and also the only one from the presumed undisturbed Roman contexts. Two other coins, a gold *nomisma* (i.e. solidus) and a copper alloy *follis*, constitute the other temporal extreme, dating to the last half of the 10th century and the early 11th (end of Constanitine VII to Basil II).

The remaining 19 all belong in the 4th century, with some of the ones without certain attribution possibly being produced also in the 5th century. Those that have been

[16] Only the ones in this latter group are included in figure 15 below.

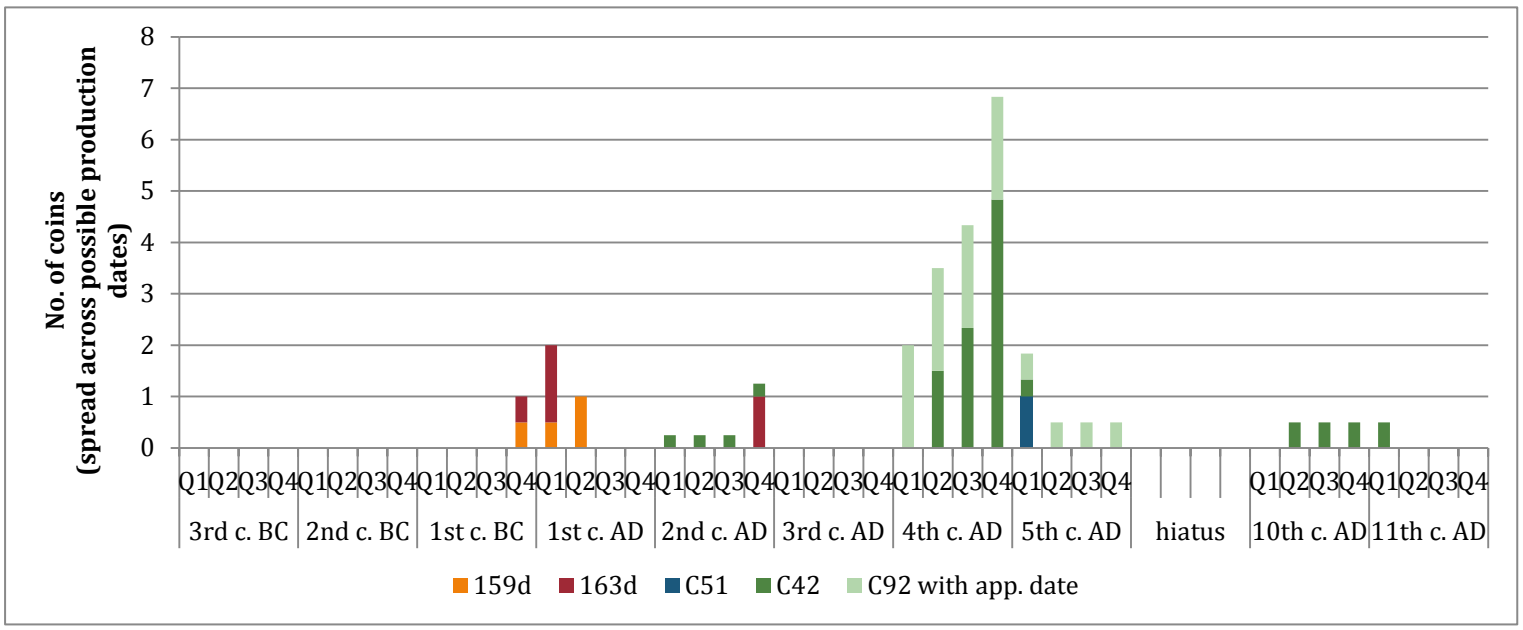

Figure 15: Chronological coin distribution

attributed show an increasing trend from the second quarter, peaking towards the end of the century. Although the numbers are too small to build significant statistics, it is worth noting that this distribution is exactly what one would expect in a currency hoard find, i.e. when a random sample of coins in circulation have been deposited at one point in time (Metcalf 2012:7). Far less attention has been given to "abandoned hoards" in funerary contexts than to single coin deposits, but grave goods in form of e.g. a filled money purse are not unheard-of (e.g. Alföldy and Găzdac 2009:163–164; cf. Grierson 1975:135–136). If the single deposit theory is not to be accepted, the remarkable chronological concentration must be explained by a combination of a high number of burials in the 4th century and a sudden popularity for coins as grave gifts. This does find some support in the occurrence of one to three coins in several of the 4th and 5th century tile graves in Area B, but would need to be backed by further ^{14}C-sampling of the bone material from C42 to be plausible (Travaglini, pers. com.).

5.5.2 Concluding Remarks

None of the coins mentioned above were found in contexts where one could assign them to any individual burial, and far less comment on their placement related to the body. Thus, a discussion on their possible ritual function is deemed to remain hypothetical; a use as *Charon's obols*, as seen in Laodikeia, cannot be determined, and an apotropaic function, or even some cases of accidental deposition, are possible explanations. What can be

commented on, however, are the overall numbers, the chronological distribution, and the variation between the tombs.

The preponderance of base metal denominations in funerary contexts is widely observed (e.g. by Alföldy and Găzdac [2009:164, 167] on material from Brigetio, where 98% of all coins from graves where of bronze), and may be seen as a symbolic *pars pro toto* for a larger offering or for the worldly wealth of the deceased.

From the three and a half centuries of use in 159d, only two coins have been left in the tomb, both originating in the Julio-Claudian era. 163d, with material deposited over six centuries, had a total of six coins, and with the exception of the concentration of 4th century coins in C92/42, coin finds are relatively rare also in the HNE tombs. Unless coins were purposefully taken out of the two tombs, it can be concluded that coins were not an important or necessary part of the grave gifts. Such removal of low-denomination bronze coins seems unlikely when gold jewellery is left in place.

5.6 Golden earrings

Of the large and varied group of personal items found in the tombs (in C42/92 alone, there were about 50 beads, 45 fragments of bone implements such as hair-, clothes- and writing pins, bracelets in glass and ivory and metal rings; Ahrens et al. 2013:14), only a type of gold earrings will be discussed.

These belong to the few more valuable objects and have been found in all tombs except C51/91. Another pair has been excavated from an sarcophagus in the North Necropolis (Jordahl and Sund, *forthcoming*). Being fairly common grave finds in Asia Minor (e.g. Simsek 2011:1047 no. 1534) and elsewhere in the Empire (Griesbach 2001:101–102; Walbank 2005:274), it has been discussed whether they should be seen as a personal item worn in life and kept in death, or whether they are used exclusively for the funeral and potentially have a role in the rite.

Figure 16: Earring of gold, T42/C92

The fact that they are often made in a way that makes them impossible to take off (fig 16) is thought to indicate the latter, as is the generic design and, of course, the frequent appearance in graves (e.g. Griesbach 2001:101–102). Griesbach (2001:105) have noted that gold is more frequently found in graves of young people - those suffering the *mors immatura*, and is not necessarily a sign of wealth or high status.

5.7 Summary

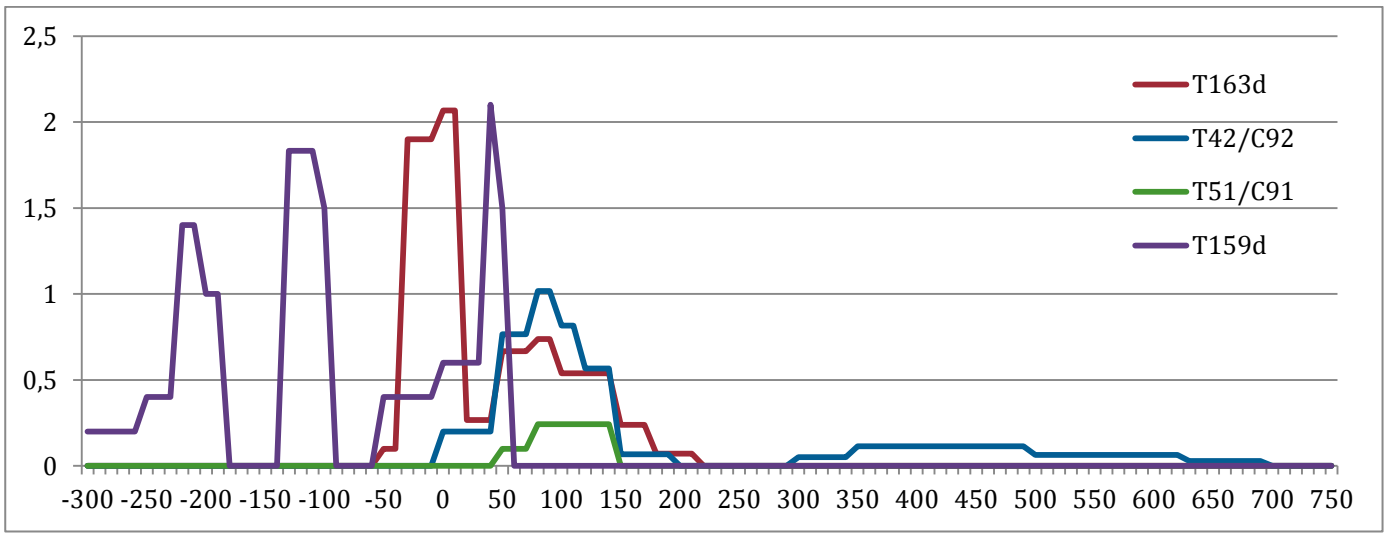

Figure 17: Combined chronology

While lamps (and unguentaria) were most likely acquired specially for the funerary use, and should have been produced shortly before their deposition, the coins were in normal circulation before their funerary use. Thus, the coins' production date is merely a certain *terminus post quem*, and does in some cases deviate significantly from the date of deposition (Greene 1986:53–54; Lockyear 2012).

As seen from the distribution chart from 163d, the group of piriform unguentaria is dated to between 50 BC and 50 AD, while the rest of the material peaks in the second half of the 1st century AD. Most vessels are, however, assigned to within a relatively long time span and the total number of dated vessels is low, so the graph must be seen as indicative rather than absolute. It is e.g. possible that everything is placed within the 1st century AD.

Griesbach's (2001:99) summary of the situation in Rome in the early empire also suits the material presented here: 1. The deposition of grave goods is "keineswegs verbindlich"; 2. the majority of the deposits consist of standardised (sets of) objects, and even the exceptions are repeated; and 3. there are no lavish burials. Further to this, von Hesberg (1998:17, 26) points out that there is very little change in this standard set of grave finds between the 1st century BC and the 2nd – or even 3rd – century AD, and that no clear difference between inhumation and cremation can be seen.

Also the individual burials in Corinth from the two first centuries AD contain a fairly limited set of possible grave gifts: unguentaria, fineware plates or bowls, and lamps. The use of these – "singly or in several combinations", however, shows how the equipment could be varied (Slane and Walbank 2006:385). In the 3rd and 4th centuries, however, the

variation is much more limited, with only a single cup and/or jug accompanying the dead (ibid.). The nature of the multiple burial tombs in Hierapolis makes it difficult to comment on the variation between individual burials within the tomb, but they do give a rather clear picture of the accumulation of grave goods in the first two centuries AD, a trend that is significant even when the use periods of the tombs are taken into account. The persistence of lamps and coins into the fifth and sixth centuries, as noted e.g. for Corinth (Walbank 2005:276), is not very visible here.

Figure 18: Hermes Psychopompos bringing a soul to Charon (from a Roman lamp). Sir William Smith, A Smaller Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography (1898)

Hermes: Ah, sepulchers, those are called, or tombs, or graves. Well, do you see those mounds, and columns, and pyramids, outside the various city walls? Those are the store-chambers of the dead.

Charon: Why, they are putting flowers on the stones, and pouring costly essences upon them. And in front of some of the mounds they have piled up faggots, and dug trenches. Look: there is a splendid banquet laid out, and they are burning it all; and pouring wine and mead, I suppose it is, into the trenches! What does it all mean?

Hermes: What satisfaction it affords to their friends in Hades, I am unable to say. But the idea is, that the shades come up, and get as close as they can, and feed upon the savory steam of the meat, and drink the mead in the trench.

Charon: Eat and drink, when their skulls are dry bone?

- Hermes shows Charon the world of the living in Lucian's *Charon* or *The Observers* 22

6 DEATH, BURIAL, AND THE ROLE OF GRAVE GOODS

6.1 Mythological background

In Greco-Roman mythology, the underworld is reigned by Hades[17], one of the sons of Kronos, and an original Olympian. His kingdom is most often thought of as a literal *under*-world, located in larges cavities below the earth's surface, bordered by five rivers, and inhabited by the souls of the dead (Hansen 2004:22–24). To enter the domain of Hades, the souls of the dead were herded to the Styx (or the Acheron) by Hermes Psychopompos, where Charon, the old ferryman, would ferry them across (e.g. Paus. 10.28.1-2). There, based on one's actions in life, one could be doomed to spend eternity tormented in Tartarus, or experience the joys of the Elysian Fields (Cumont 1922:75–76). Most, however, would end in an existence as little more than shades, wandering "bloodless, bodiless, boneless" (Ov. *Met*. 4.443), with attenuated senses and no memory of their former life (Hansen 2004:24). As a general rule, the underworld would be inescapable, and the three-headed watchdog Cerberus ensured that none who had entered made it out again. A few exceptions are described in the literature, however, where living humans return from a visit to the underworld. Notable examples of such *katabases* include

[17] Or Pluto in the Latinised variant, from Plouton, referring to the wealth in the ground which is also reflected in his attribute, the cornucopia (Carpenter 1991:77)

Odysseus (Hom. *Od*. 11), Orpheus (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 10.1-105), and Aeneas (Verg. *A*. 6). In the Odyssey (11.30) the spirits could be contacted and benefit from acts of the living: Odysseus summons the dead with blood libations poured into a hole in the ground, and receives news and advice in return.

As seen in the quote from Lucian, however, the mythological version of Hades and death is not reflected in ordinary Roman practice. Rather, the spirits of the dead may have been thought to dwell close to their burial place as *manes* or *lemures* (cf. the epitaph formula *dis manibus*), and to be able to take benefit of libations and food offerings at the grave (Toynbee 1971:37). The tomb, then, becomes the eternal house – "domum aeternam ubi aevum degerent" (CIL I 1108; Cumont 1922:48). Thomas (2005:288) describes an "oscillation between [the] two beliefs" throughout classical antiquity; on the one hand, that death liberates the soul from the body and sends it off to the afterlife, on the other, that the spirits of the dead follow the remains of their bodies.

In fact, however, the written sources gives us a glimpse of a much larger diversity in the perception of the afterlife. Epicureanism, Stoicism and Peripateticism, significant branches of philosophical thought throughout the Hellenistic and Roman eras, all argued against the immortal soul – in Epicurean atomistic theory, the soul, as everything else, is made up of atoms and is disintegrated at the moment of death, leaving nothing but the single atoms (Cumont 1922:6–9). In the first centuries AD, several influential contributors to these schools came from southwest Asia Minor. In *On the Soul,* Alexander of Aphrodisias concluded that the soul could not exist without the living body (Frede 2013). Not far away, in Oenoanda, an Epicurean by the name of Diogenes had his philosophical testament inscribed and set up in a public stoa, thus creating the longest Greek inscription known to date (Smith and Hammerstaedt 2007). There, he speaks out directly against the conceptions of Hades[18], and states that when his body is rotting, there will be no more, and thus nothing to fear (Usener 1892:428–429). That such views were not confined to a narrow group of philosophers is suggested by standardised epitaphs, either straight forward, as in "Sumus mortales – immortales non sumus" (CIL XI 856), or more poetic: "Non fui, fui, non sum, non curo" (Mastrocinque 2007:379). Certain funerary inscriptions go even further and criticise both traditional ideas of the underworld and the funerary rituals attached to them (Hotz 2005:177–181).

[18] "φοβοῦμαι γὰρ οὐδὲν διὰ τοὺς Τιτυοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ταντάλους, οὓς ἀναγράφουσιν ἐν Ἅιδου τινές, ..."

Other movements, following Pythagorean or Orphic traditions, had a radically different view of the relationship between the soul and the body. They based their teachings on *metempsychosis* in the form of reincarnation of the soul, but also the possibility of eternal life in the heavens if one managed to break out of the cycle of transmigration (Cumont 1922:77–79). Several versions of the afterlife are promised in these and related schools of thought, including a life on the moon or the sun, or variations of astral apotheoses where one might be placed in the heaven as a star in the Milky Way (Cumont 1922:91–94).

Also mystery religions based around deities introduced from other parts of the empire attracted followers with their promise of immortality for the initiated. Among these were the goddess of Cybele, which had traditionally been worshipped in Phrygia, and the Mithraic cult. The emergence and rise of Christianity, which, as we have seen, got an early foothold in the Lycos valley, is tied into these developments (Ferguson 2003:251–300). In our area of interest, we even see the adoption of Jewish practices by non-Jewish *gentiles* (cf. the "god-fearers" from Aphrodisias; Harland 2006:229–230). In sum, the possible beliefs and perceptions regarding death and the afterlife were truly plentiful.

6.2 Funerary practices and liminal objects

The concepts formed concurrently by Hertz (1960 [1907]), a member of the *L'Année Sociologique* school built around Emile Durkheim in the first decade of the 20th century, and van Gennep (1960 [1908]) still constitute a solid framework for the understanding of funerary rites. Viewing death as a temporally extant transition from one existential state to another, rather than an instantaneous event (cf. Rakita and Buikstra 2005:97), and employing van Gennep's tripartite model of *rites de passage*, not only helps to explain the actions involved in the funerary rites, but also the role of the material objects taking part in them.

Ideas that the actions of the living influence the condition of the dead can be found already in some of the earliest written sources. The afterlife in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BC Mesopotamia was a troublesome one, but performance of the appropriate rituals during and after the funeral could improve the standard (Pollock 2007:212). Consequently, the dead could also come back to haunt the living if they were not given the right libations and food offerings (ibid.). This dual argument of carrying out the funerary rites both for the sake of the deceased and for the sake of the living, is likewise present in the Roman world.

Hertz' model separates the funerary process into rituals for the corpse, for the soul of the deceased, and for the mourners (Hertz 1960:29). Starting at the moment of death, all three categories leave the normality of status quo and enter a phase of transition. They remain in the liminality during the preparation and execution of the funerary rites, until the final burial is completed. Then the corpse has been transformed from a person's body to the material remains of a human, the soul has gone from the world of the living to the afterlife, and the next of kin, after having been mourners, are reintegrated into old or new roles in society. The model focuses on certain types of secondary burial practices where destruction of the flesh resulting in pure bones was fundamental to completing the transition. This has been shown to need adjustments for use on other types of secondary processing (e.g. Rakita and Buikstra 2005:104-106), but although not universally valid, the overall outline is still useful in approaching the Roman material.

6.2.1 Disposal of the body

A fundamental element of the funerary ritual is the choice between cremation and inhumation. Still, no coherent religious or ideological explanations are found for the prevailing trends (Ahrens 2014:203). Thomas (2005:288) argues that in Roman times the cremation ritual is often connected with ideas of a happy afterlife, while inhumation tends to reflect more sober perspectives. This contrasts with the (Pharisaic) Jewish, and later Christian conception of the "resurrection of the flesh", where a complete and un-damaged body was crucial for the revival on the last day and eternal life (Hachlili 2005:302; Naji 2005:176; cf. Daniel 12:2 and Revelation 11:9). Although i.a. Augustine assured that cremation was not fatal to the possibility of resurrection, Jewish and Christian burials can be assumed to be inhumations.

In Rome, customs changed from cremation to inhumation as the common form of burial around the end of the 1st century AD, but in Asia Minor, inhumation had been the dominant trend since the Bronze Age (Toynbee 1971:33–34; Morris 1992:52–68; Cormack 2004:109). Neither practice was used exclusively, however, and we have evidence of large number of Anatolian cremation burials in the Hellenistic and Roman periods – some also in the Hierapolis material (Ahrens 2014).

As discussed above, both cremation and possibly other forms of secondary burials are seen in the Hierapolis material, but the prevalence of secondary burials is uncertain. The nature of the tombs, housing multiple burials from a long span of time in open chambers, must nevertheless have lead to a familiarity with the bones of earlier burials, and, if assuming the tombs to have been family graves, a direct concept of the transformation of

the forefathers' bodies into dry bones. The connection between the decomposition of the corpse and the soul's move to the afterworld, however, is not obvious.

6.2.2 Artefacts in the grave

Although the more descriptive division of the funerary practices into *Phase des Sterbens*, *Bestattungsbrauchtum* and *Totengedenken* is a good starting point for material analysis (cf. Witteyer 2008:171), the system proposed by Hertz helps to highligh the roles of the different classes of grave goods even further. The objects took part in the stages of the process, influencing the transition through the liminal phase for the different perceived actors.

Charon's coins should ease the soul's passage through the liminal phase and help it enter its final destination in Hades. Textual sources stress the importance of placing it in the mouth (i.e. near the soul) *at the time of* death (Stevens 218, 221). Thus, it marks the soul of the deceased's entrance into the liminal phase. The crossing of the river Styx can be said to complete the liminal phase for the deceased's soul – once over, the soul was properly installed in the realm of the dead. By securing this final stage of the journey to the underworld, the coin also marks the exit out of the liminality.

Lamps, cooking and dining vessels, and food left as grave gifts could reflect the idea of the soul remaining close to the grave for eternity, and needing those grave gifts in the afterlife. Equipment for commemorative dining is primarily related to the mourners' process of fulfilling their duties before returning to their ordinary lives. Finally, the unguentaria, if we accept that they held oils and unguents for use in the preparation of the body and for the funeral, take part in the transitional phase of the corpse.

The tomb houses the remains of the body and represents the space of the liminal. It is perhaps only natural, then, that the grave goods, whose tasks during the phase of mourning and funeral make them material remains of the rites, should belong in the space associated with the rites and the liminal aspects.

6.2.3 Rites of protection and remembrance

The uncertainty and unfamiliarity of the liminal phase makes it a dangerous period (Turner 1967), and the fear surrounding the spirits of the dead lingering around their burial places can be seen as linked to their never properly leaving the liminality (cf. the Christian concept of *refrigerum interim* – the intermediary state before the resurrection at the last day; Paxton 1990:39). They continue to be a potential threat, capable of interact-

ing with the world of the living, and require continued attention from the bereaved ones. Objects with apotropaic properties have a similar task in keeping the souls from hurting the living while in the dangerous liminality.

At the same time, even after the return to normality, acts of commemoration are important to reaffirm the ties to the deceased and their social position, both for the descendants own self, and in the minds of the *others*. The memorialisation is often found to contain strong material elements, and may, also in modern times, be centred around the space of the tomb (Hallam and Hockey 2001:2–16). In parts of the Roman world, this materialised as activities and dining, closely connected with burial monuments (Gee 2008).

Rituals taking place after the final interment are timed both by important dates for the deceased individual (relating to birthday and day of death), and by officially regulated dates (Thomas 2005:288–289; Toynbee 1971:61–64). According to the *Fasti*, Parentalia, the festival of the dead, takes place in the middle of February and includes offerings of flowers, food or some grains of salt at the tombs; only a small offer is necessary – *parva petunt manes, pietas pro divite grata est munere* (Ovid Fasti II.533-540). The festival ends in the Feralia, on 21 February, the last day to bring offerings to the tombs and a time for other rites to appease the fathers' spirits (Ovid Fasti II.569-582). Also the Lauralia in May consisted of rites to stay safe from the spirits of the dead, but these took place in the home (cf. Ovid Fasti V.473-ff).

The incorporation of these festivities into the official calendar is a sign that attending to the dead was not a purely private matter, but something that potentially influenced the entire society. Ovid (Fasti II 546-565) warns of the deadly dangers resulting from neglecting the Parentalia – ancestral, misshapen spirits howling through the streets and Rome growing hot from funeral fires! Even when the proper rites are enacted is the festival an uncertain and dangerous period. It may be questioned how closely these *stadtrömische* references from the Augustan era account for the customs in the eastern part of the Empire during the following centuries, but similar public festivals, such as the Genesia in Athens, have a history also in the east (Thomas 2005:289).

Even though Ovid claims that the dead are not greedy, there are many examples of individuals wanting to ensure that they would receive more than the minimum by making provisions in their wills and stating what types of offer and how often they were to be given (Thomas 2005:288–289). These could include annual commemorative dining, or smaller, but more frequent acts, like the lighting of lamps at the grave up to three times a month (Toynbee 1971:61–63).

The *Painted Tomb* in the necropolis of Corinth resembles the situation in Hierapolis in that it has a chamber containing multiple burials over a long span of time – an MNI of 42 was identified and finds date from the 2nd to the 6th century AD (Walbank 2005:261–269). In direct association with 2nd century burials were clay unguentaria, coins and *sigillata* vessels (ESB), while the 3rd and 4th century grave goods consisted of mugs, jugs and coins found in fill material above the burial (Slane and Walbank 2006:378–380). In addition, cooking and dining vessels were found in the chamber not in association with any burials, as were up to 20 lamps dating from the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century (ibid.). Thus, a distinction seems probable between individual grave gifts and vessels belonging to the tomb in general. A connection with commemorative dining or other food-based rites taking place in the grave chamber seems reasonable (Walbank 2005:272–273).

A study of two Hellenistic to Early Roman rock-cut chamber tombs in central and western Cyprus similarly shows the high percentage of cooking and dining vessels, which together with unguentaria and lamps made up the majority of the glass and ceramic objects found (Winther Jacobsen 2006). The basic set of equipment is stable throughout the use period of the tombs, although the prevalence of different objects varies, most notably with the lamps, which become far more regular after the introduction of the Italian mould-made types (ibid.). Here, however, none of the cooking vessels showed signs of use (use-marks were only found on lamps, but about a quarter of those, too, seemed unused), and a relatively high proportion had even been rendered useless by flaws in the firing process[19] (Winther Jacobsen 2006:391–394). Thus, these vessels cannot have been used in the type of commemorative dining suggested in Corinth, but must have played a more symbolic role, either containing ready-made food left in the grave, or constituting grave-gifts themselves.

Contemporaneous cremation burials in the western provinces display a comparable pattern. Here, too, vessels for dining are found in the graves together with lamps and unguentaria; the terra sigillata types are different from those of a standard household assembly and clearly unused (Martin-Kilcher 2008:14–21). Analyses of vessel contents show that both meat, pastries and other foods were a normal part of the grave gifts (ibid.).

[19] These production errors should not be seen as cancelling or 'killing' of the vessels, but ash layers in some of the cooking vessels may imply such ritual destruction of the food by burning (Winther Jacobsen 2006; cf. Kurtz and Boardman 1971:215–216).

It is interesting to note that these practices cannot be observed at all in the Hierapolis material. Neither the small bowls (one found in each tomb), nor the storage jars in 163d can have served the same function as a dining set. Full sets for food preparation and dining, potentially including food, were not left as grave gifts in Hierapolis, unless, that is, they were later regularly removed from the graves. As the material from the trenches outside the HNE tombs contains both cooking wares, closed coarse ware vessels, bowls, and some fine wares, however, it is possible that similar sets have been present in the necropoleis, but have not been stored inside the burial chambers. It is also, of course, possible that the customs in the Roman colony of Corinth deviated more from those of Asia Minor than the geographical distance would imply, and that commemorative dining is affected by this. The evidence of tomb-side dining in Asia Minor is scarce, and mainly connected to richer tomb complexes (Cormack 2004:30, 120).

6.3 Identity of status

The issue of status and power is perhaps the most prolific object of study in funerary archaeology. Grave goods and burial monuments have been seen to reflect the position the buried individuals had in life, and statistical analysis of the mortuary variability (e.g. of grave goods, as in Morris 1992), has been employed to understand the stratification and social organisation of societies (Parker Pearson 1999:73–83).

Cormack (2004:44–46, 155–160) has discussed how monumental tombs in Asia Minor were used to honour and commemorate citizens that stood out for their achievements or social standing, sometimes even bringing them into the public space by erecting the tomb within the city walls. The Zeuxis tomb is a possible Hierapolitan example of this (Ronchetta 2012:499–510). Without doubt, the burial monuments themselves contain an element of public display, but the funerary rites, and the objects left behind by the rites, may well have had a more private character, where showing off one's social position was of secondary importance.

This study has indicated a certain variation in the grave goods within the tombs, but no remarkable differences between them. Although the material does not allow us to reconstruct individual burial assemblages, it shows that some must have been buried without any (durable) grave goods, while others were buried with jewellery of gold, gemstones and bone ornaments. This variation should not be directly linked to wealth and status, however. The very poorest will not have had access to a burial in the tombs, and for those who did, the insignificant cost of an unguentarium or a lamp cannot explain the choice to leave such grave gifts out. At the other end of the object scale, Griesbach

(2001:101–102) argues that gold objects in graves were not by imperial times a sign of high social standing – e.g. golden earrings, undecorated of a type similar to those presented here, are often found singly and in otherwise standard burials and in what is seen as graves of the middle or lower classes. Again, one has to be careful drawing direct analogies from Rome to the provinces, but an ideological statement presented by Cicero (De leg. ii.24-25), might portray some underlying attitudes responsible for the low inequality seen in the grave goods (cf. von Hesberg 1998:17, 24): "it is quite in accordance with nature that differences in wealth should cease with death".

6.4 Religious identity and Judeo-Christian practices

Pagan, Jewish and Christian ideas about death and the afterlife would assumedly lead to differences in burial practices traceable in the material record. When it comes to grave goods, however, this is a lot less clear than expected. Grave gifts intended to help the deceased on their way, such as the Charon's obol, or sacrifices for the spirits, make no sense in a Judeo-Christian context, but many of the same items are found in these graves (Hachlili 2005:375–446). They may have adopted a purely symbolic meaning, showing respect to the deceased or arousing "the grief of the onlookers" (Hachlili 2005:485), thus only serving the mourning process, much like modern day graveside commemorative acts.

It has been noted that the graves of local Jewish communities in the Diaspora have a lot in common with their host cultures; often, the only thing that identifies them as Jewish is an inscription (Rutgers 2000:65–67). On the burial practices themselves, some information can be extracted from comments in the Babylonian Talmud, but these are either of a later date (Semahot) and/or in need of heavy interpretation (e.g. the relevant parts of the Mishnah and the Tosefta) (Green 2008:158). The New Testament further helps to shed light on 1st century Jewish practices, as well as being influential to Early Christian customs.

In the Mishnah (*m. Ber.* 8:6 and *b. Ber.* 53a) the "lamp [and] spices of the dead" are singled out as objects not to be said blessings over, as they are used in honour of the dead, and not in honour of God. The word "spices" here probably refers to either incense or scented oil, which may have been used in the procession leading the dead to the grave or during interment (cf. *t. Šeq.* 1.12; Green 2008:163-164). *b. Ber.* 53a states that the spices are used to cover the smell of a decomposing body, but Green (2008:169) sees this as an anachronistic interpretation of an old custom, since the deceased is normally buried on the day of death, before any smell would be noticeable. Rather, the use of the oil was a means of honouring the dead, a notion also found in the New Testament. In Matt. 26:6-12, Jesus is

anointed with precious oil from an alabastron (ἁλάβαστρον μύρου βαρυτίμου), and answers the disciples' outrage over such squandering and extravagance by seeing it as a respectful act and stating that "by pouring this ointment on my body, she has prepared me for burial".

Green's (2008:173) conclusion that unguentaria were primarily placed in graves as personal effects of the deceased – "that they belonged to the dead and, as such, were valued by the living", is surprising considering the clear references to funerary uses and the evidence that the vessels were produced specially for this use. Lamps and unguentaria may well, however, have served as symbols for affection and esteem for the deceased, or they may have been regarded as contaminated by the dead after having been used in the funerary rites, and thus left in the burial space .

It is nevertheless interesting that the very same types of objects were used by followers of different religions. This, on the one hand, highlights the strong influence that Hellenistic and Roman culture had on the funerary rites in the monotheistic religions, and the extent of shared practices and attitudes, leading Salzman (2007) to describe the religious situation up until the middle of the 4th century AD as a pagano-Christian *koiné*. On the other hand, it also demonstrates that lay people's practices not always comply with the logic of the faith they follow, which is later reflected in medieval Christian writings having to repeatedly condemn funerary practices seen as pagan or heathen (i.a. Alcock 1980:59–60; McNeill and Gamer 1938:333–334).

Stevens (1991:220) argues that by the Roman period, coins had largely been detached from the Charon's fee-mythology, and instead replaced alimentary goods as a symbol of provisions for the afterlife. The Christian *viaticum* (lit. "provision for a journey"), the last Eucharist placed in the mouth of the dying, can be seen as a continuation of this symbolism (Paxton 1990:32; Stevens 1991:220–221). A similar line of thought is followed by von Hesberg (26-27), who sees the standardisation and minimalism in the *stadtrömischen* material as a result of new perceptions of death and the dead: When even wealthy, resource-rich people choose to bury their dead with the minimum set of equipment, the idea that the dead need supplies must have been abstracted and reduced to traditionalised rituals. The invariance and lack of development in the types of grave goods support the assumption that the feeding and provisioning had been transformed into a tradition with symbolic, rather than concrete meaning (cf. Hobsbawm 1983:2).

The bottom line for the Hierapolis material is that the investigated objects can give only limited information on the religion of the tombs' users. The observation that some people were buried completely without grave goods, however, could be taken to indicate

scepticism about immortality and the idea of an afterlife. If the burial rites were widely standardised, not following the norm could be a clear statement of otherness by non-believers, even if the grave gifts had lost their religious meaning (cf. Hotz 2005:184).

6.5 Romanisation and local identity

The issue of Roman influence on the life and cultural practices of those living in areas that came under Roman control with the expansion of the empire, has received substantial attention over the last century of archaeological research (Webster 2001:211–218). Focus has been on Britain in particular (e.g. Millett 1990), and the western provinces in general (i.a. Woolf 1997; Hingley 2005; Revell 2009), while interest has more recently also been directed towards Italy (Wallace-Hadrill 2008b). In the east, however, much less research has been done, and the view of the relation between the Greek East and the Latin West is still affected by the spirit of Horace's *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio,* indicating an inverse direction of cultural influences (Madsen 2006:1–4). As discovered in the study of Romanisation, however, a one-way flow is not a very productive model, and should not be accepted for the *Hellenisation* of Rome either. Rather, one might find a combination of identity negotiation through adoption, adaptation and resistance both ways, resulting in hybrid or creolised societies (cf. Webster 2001; Wallace-Hadrill 2008a).

Although ethnicity, as defined by Barth (1969), can be a source of social identity marked by material culture (see discussion in Emberling 1997), it is uncertain how influential such ideas were in Hierapolis in the Roman imperial period. It is probable that some locals saw themselves as descendants of the pre-Roman and pre-Hellenistic Phrygians, that the Jewish communities emphasised group identity apart from the religious cohesion, and that immigrants from Roman Italy gathered in associations (as seen in inscriptions in nearby Apameia; Harland 2006:226). Still, the area had been an integrated part of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds for centuries, and an opposition between *ethnic* identity and *non-ethnic* Roman-ness is less easily imagined here than in more peripheral or recently included parts of the Empire.

By looking at the development over time and changes from the Hellenistic period to the time of Roman rule, one could expect to see the impact of Roman ideas (Krsmanovic and Anderson 2012:62). The presented grave good material does exhibit a substantial change in forms and frequency in the first century AD, but as long as these follow empire-wide developments, it would be difficult to make a case for a sudden collective Romanisation. In line with Cormack's (1997:152–153) conclusion, it could be argued that contact and

exchange of ideas lead to reciprocity and similarities in the superficial appearance of the material culture, but that this does not indicate a collective stance on Roman values. Whatever the reason, the convergence of grave goods, as with the later propagation of inhumation, is remarkable, and gives backing to Morris' (1992:68) claim that by the 3rd century the burial practice can be seen as a real *mos Romanus.*

Most or all material is paralleled in the larger *oikumene* – it would not have raised many eyebrows if it showed up in the Via Salaria-necropolis in the suburbs of Rome, or almost anywhere else in the empire. The change from the Hellenistic fusiform unguentaria to the bulbous glass and clay varieties is widely observed and generally ascribed to the invention of glass blowing, which increased the availability of glass vessels. It does, however, concurrently mark the introduction of unified types across the empire. A similar pattern follows for the dominating position obtained by Italian mould-made lamps, and the unified monetary system applied empire-wide. All three developments took place in the last century BC and the first century AD, thus facilitating the standardisation of grave goods in the Roman empire.

Still, there might have been a combination of local, historical customs and "global" Roman ones; unguentaria, lamps and coins are very widespread, and found in combination with nearly every possible practice. Further, one might be looking at contrasting *local* identities, with the Hierapolitan more eager to distinguish herself from the people of Laodikeia or Tripoli, than from "the Romans", or even regional ones, perhaps connected to the location in the Province of Asia, as opposed to other provinces of the empire. These conceptions of group identity would obviously change dramatically in the Byzantine period, when Arab and Turkish conquests bring in a new and very visible *other*.

A distinctly local identity is not readily discernible in the material from Hierapolis, but the prolonged chronology of clay unguentaria, the slender, ovoid types and the persistence of the fusiform shapes are phenomena mainly observed in Asia Minor. The *agency* behind this conservatism, however, is at present hard to analyse. It might be easier to find evidence of individuals buying into Roman cultural expressions (e.g. as symbols of status; Woolf in Webster 2001:217), instead of attempting to read big narratives of cultural change.

6.6 Identities in epigraphy: The case of P. Aelius Glykon and Aurelia Amia

The apparent failure to identify group differences in the studied material should not be taken as proof that such elements were not wanted or important in funerary contexts. The reading of a single inscription from the East Necropolis demonstrates this point:

The text, IJO II 196, is the epitaph of a sarcophagus in the vicinity of the HNE-tombs and the later martyrion complex, and has been dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD (Ritti 1992-93). It proclaims that the tomb belongs to *Publius Aelius Glykon and Aurelia Aima*, and is for the burial of them and their children only. The owner, it continues, left 200 denaria with the *presidency of the purple-dyers*, so that they should conduct *grave-crowning ceremonies* during *the festival of Unleavened Bread*, and another 150 denaria were entrusted to *the guild of the carpet-weavers* for the execution of the same rites during *the festival of Kalends* and for *Pentecost.* Finally, it states that a copy is kept in *the archives* (translation based on Harland 2006:228). Although stylistically a typical funerary inscription from Hierapolis, a closer look at the content of the *formulae* reveals a web of intertwined identities.

If it does indeed predate the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, then Glykon's use of the *tria nomina* sets him apart from the average Hierapolitan as a Roman citizen, which is both a mark of status and a possible political message. If it turns out to be later than 212 AD, the use of a full Roman name, as well as the use of *Aurelia*, is still signalling an identification with the Empire. Simultaneously the name *Glykon,* which is typical of Roman Phrygia, shows a local attachment (Harland 2006:230).

A similar multivocality can be read in the provisions for the memorial ceremonies. The observances are to be carried out on both the Jewish feasts of Passover and Pentecost, and the Roman religious festival of the Kalends, i.e. the New Year celebrations in January, and the ritual is the same in both instances. The Aelians, then, must either have been Jews incorporating Roman festivals, Pagans adopting Jewish traditions, or, theoretically, Christians mixing elements from both older religious systems. Moreover, the responsibility for the execution is left not with the family, or with the Jewish community, but with local guilds, which were influential participants in civic activities, but which Glykon himself probably did not belong to (Harland 2006:230, 236–237). This trust in local institutions is shown also in the last line of the inscription, naming the city archive as keeper of the backup document ensuring compliance with the terms given.

7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

"My luggage is only a flask, a wallet, an old cloak, and the obol that pays the passage of the departed."

(Anth. Pal. 7.67.5-6)

If the epigram over the grave of the 4th century BC philosopher Diogenes the Cynic is to be taken literally, the flask and the coin should be seen to represent the very basics of grave goods – so fundamental that they accompanied even Diogenes, and surely also many other dead people of his times. Likewise, the burial practices that can be observed in Hierapolis from its foundation into the late Empire seem to continuously feature a few main grave goods. Their evolution is characterised by continual development rather than by clear breaks or discontinuities.

Grave complexes with multiple burials were used over several centuries, showing a build-up of both human remains and grave gifts. The main lines of development in grave gift customs observed in Hierapolis do mirror those of the larger Hellenistic and Roman *koiné*. Clay unguentaria make up the largest artefact group in the Hellenistic and early imperial periods, and change in appearance from elaborate toward plainer forms during the last centuries BC. Glass becomes more common with the introduction of its blown variant, although ceramic vessels seem to remain in use for longer than what is generally assumed. Lamps are sporadically left in the 1st century BC, but find increased use from the second half of the 1st century AD onwards. The number of lamps in the investigated tombs is, however, very low compared to the number of burials and use periods, and also much

lower than seen in certain other tombs in Hierapolis. The coin finds display a similar pattern – the presence of coins must be described as sporadic, rather than prevalent.

The presence of other pottery and glass vessels is low, with a glass beaker in 159d, one small ceramic bowl in each of 159d, 163d and 42/92, and the three larger jars in 163d. This does neither fit with an extended use of food and dining utensils as grave goods, nor with leaving or depositing vessels used in commemorative dining in the burial chambers. Although a plethora of explanations for the "function" of unguentaria in grave contexts have been suggested, no certain conclusions have been reached.

The inability to discern pre-Roman, Roman, Jewish and Christian burials in the material – despite vast differences in beliefs and rituals associated with the four dispositions – highlights the problems the researcher is confronted with when trying to extrapolate meaning and religious systems from the grave goods. This does, however, point to the continuity and strong traditionalisation in material aspects of the funerary rite, some of which can be traced up until today. On the other hand, it also provides evidence for the local adaptation to what we might call "fashion" or "custom", as demonstrated by the Jewish diaspora's wide adoption of local tomb designs, exemplified here by the takeover of 163d (Green 2008:152–153).

The code-switching between local and cosmopolitan, Jewish and Roman identities found on the sarcophagus of Glykon and Aurelia stands in stark contrast to the uniformity of the grave goods. This shows that the latter can hardly be seen as a deliberate decision to hide group affiliations or testify to a fear of standing out; much rather, the grave goods did, contrary to inscriptions and possibly practices, just not present the right arena for the display of differences.

While the standardisation of grave goods may have transcended religion, wealth and local identities, the funerary customs will have been more diverging, adapting to and being influenced by undercurrents of local identity and tradition. Here, the inscription of Glykon and Aurelia reminds us that many of the rituals, and even grave gifts, would leave no trace in the material record, and that hence, one should be careful to make direct inferences from converging shapes of pottery to an overall unification and "Romanisation" of the empire.

Further, the material allows us to gain insight into the "life stories" of the grave monuments. The tumulus was created not long after the founding of Hierapolis herself and one may hence wonder whether it belonged to an old Hierapolitan family. This in turn raises the question why it would not have been renovated after the earthquake, but rather

covered up completely? Did this happen just because tumuli were out of fashion, or maybe due to changing family fortunes or new owners? 163d was Jewish in the 3rd century AD, but does the inscription mark a transition of ownership, as in the case of Attalos' tomb, or can it be assumed that it had always been Jewish? A complete assessment and analysis of the burial complexes that could bring us closer to answering these questions requires an analysis of all artefact classes and the osteological evidence, as well as architectural structures and epigraphic sources. The present study constitutes a first contribution in this regard.

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ANCIENT SOURCES

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ABBREVIATED TITLES USED IN THE TEXT AND THE CATALOGUE

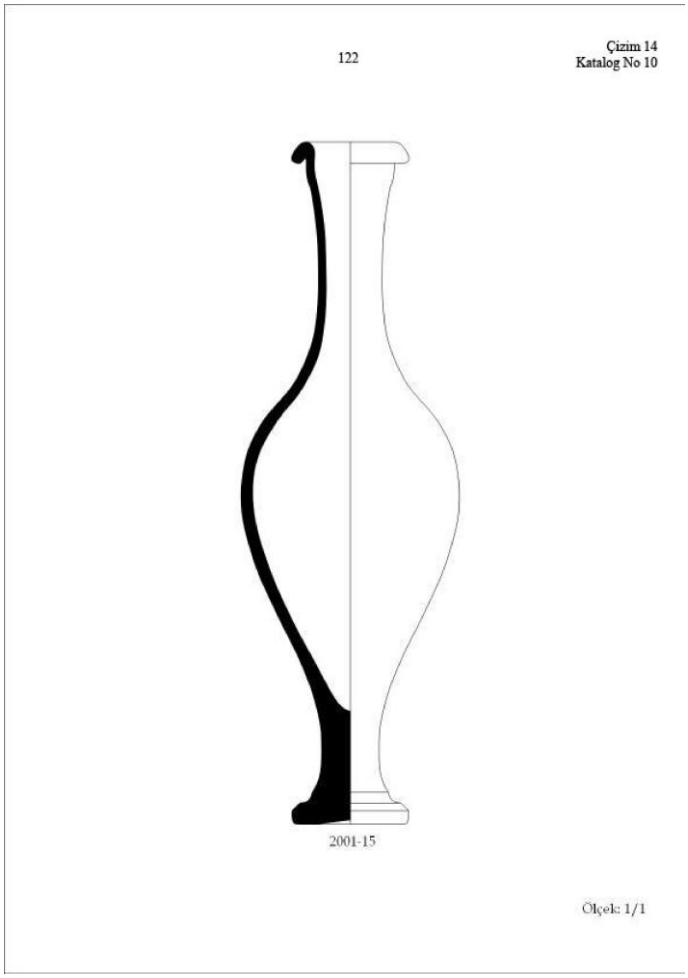
CIJ	Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
IJO	Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis
RIC VII	Carson, Sutherland and Bruun 1966 *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol VII, Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313 - 337*. Spink and Son, London.
RIC X	Kent, J. P. C. 1994 The Roman Imperial Coinage, Volume X: The Divided Empire, 395–491. Spink and Son, London.
RPC I	Burnett, Andrew, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollès 1992 *Roman Provincial Coinage, Vol. I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44B.C. - A.D. 69)*. British Museum Press, London.
SNG v.A.	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock

9 Appendices

No.	Inventory numbers joining	No of sherds	Not joining, but belonging to same vessel	Possibly belonging to same vessel	Vessel type	Note
1	B7:2:N9/1, B63:3:N12/2, B98:3	3	Set no 2		Small bowl	Complete profile. Same type as B52:2:W7/3
2	B52:2, B68:2:N16/1, B98:3:N15/2	3	Set no 1		Small bowl	
3	B7:2, B7:3, B52:1:C8, B98:2, B99:2	6			Jug	
4	B7:2, B7:3, B85:1:N13/2, B85:2, B85:2:N14/1, B98:3:N15/1, B00:T42	7	Set no 5,6,7,8, 9, B63:3:N12/1 and 6 undiag from B7:2, B7:3, B52:2 and B68:2		Bowl?	
5	B7:2, B52:2:E6/3, B85:2:N14/2, B85:2, B98:1, B98:2	5	See no 4		Bowl?	
6	B63:3:N12/2, B68:2:E6/1	2	See no 4		Bowl?	
7	B52:2:N13/1, B68:2	2	See no 4		Bowl?	
8	B7:2, B52:2, B68:2	3	See no 4		Bowl?	
9	B7:2, B52:2	2	See no 4		Bowl?	
10	B7:2, B7:2, B63:3, B68:2:C4/3	4	B7:2		Red-slip bowl	Base
11	B63:3, B85:1:N9/3	2			Red-slip bowl or dish	Rim
12	B7:2:C6, B85:2:N8/1	2			Red-slip bowl	Base
13	B52:1:E9/2, B85:2	2			Jug	
14	B68:2:C5, B85:2, B98:1	4		B7:1, B7:2, B52:2, B63:3, B98:2, B98:2	Unguentarium	
15	B5, B63:2, B63:3:W10	3	B7:3:W9/2, B52:1:C8, B63:1, B85:3		Unguentarium	Rim
16	B63:3:W6/1, B63:3, B85:2:N7/2, B85:2, B99:1:E8/2	5	B68:2	B98:2	Unguentarium	Base of globular ungunent.
17	B7:2, B52:1:W6, B85:1:N13/1	3	Set no 18		Unguentarium	Neck
18	B7:2:N7/1, B7:2:N8, B7:2:N8, B7:3, B7:3, B7:3, B52:2, B85:1:N13/4, B98:2:N14/1, B98:1	10	Set no 17		Unguentarium	Base
19	B68:2:N10, B85:2, B99:1:E8/1, B99:2:E8/1	12			Unguentarium	Base to neck
20	B63:3:W12/2, B85:2:W6/1	2		Set 21	Unguentarium	Base to neck
21	B52:2:N10/1, B68:2:N8/2, B85:1:N12/1	4		Set 20	Unguentarium	Rim and neck
22	B52:1:W6/1, B85:2:E7/2, B26:1:1-2/1, B26:1:1-2/2	4		B7:3:W9	Unguentarium	Match between T42 and Sarcophagus 63
23	B52:2:N10/2, B68:2:N7	2			Unguentarium	Base to neck

24	B7:2:N17/1, B7:3/1, B52:2:N8/1, B52:2:N9/1, B68:2:C5/1, B68:2:N10/1, B85:2:N17/1, B85:2:N11/1, B98:1:N13/1, B98:2	10		Lamp	
25	B63:1:E13/1, B75:1:C7/24, B75:1:C7/28	3		Lamp	
26	B68:2, B85:1:N9/2	2		Lamp	
27	B7:3, B52:3:W11/2	2	Set no 28	Terracotta?	
28	B7:3, B26:3	2	Set no 27	Terracotta?	Match between T42 and Sarcophagus 63
29	B98:1:N16/1, B98:3:N15/1	2		Lamp?	

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/15**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 10

Context:

Height/length: 21 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

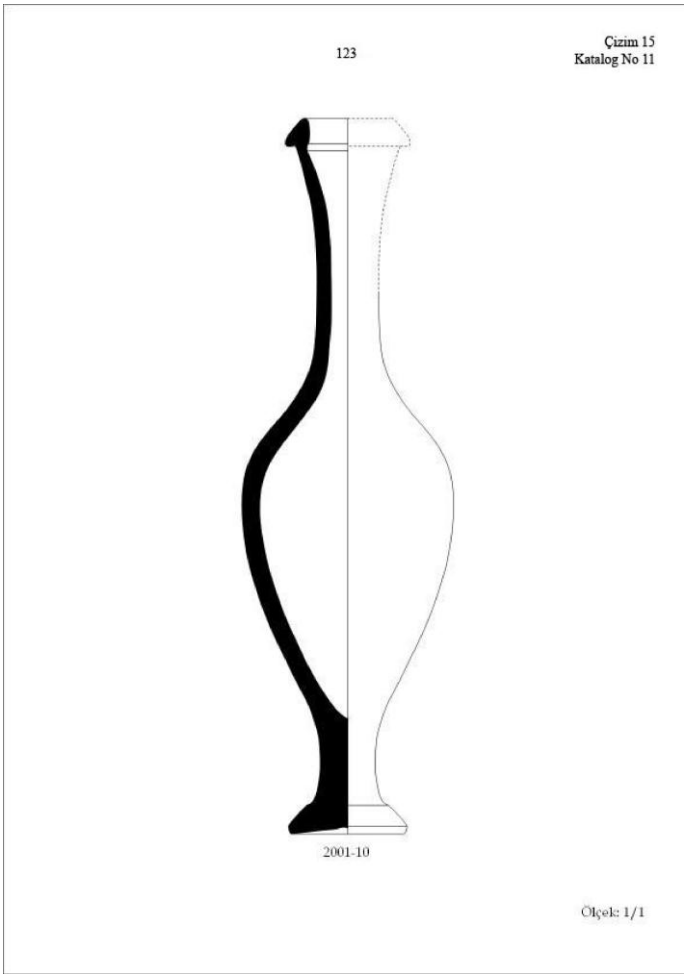
Description: Draw 14, 34, 40; fig 21-22, 33, 35

Parallels: Stobi type D: Q3 2nd c. BC - Q1 1st c. BC (Anderson-Stojanovic 1992:83);
(Kerameikos no. 388, 390: Q3 2nd c. BC (Knigge 1976:58);
Izmir Museum Cat. no. 36: Q3-Q4 2nd c. BC;
Sardis Cat. no. 261, 263-264: Q1 2nd c. BC - Q2 1st c. BC;

Date: Last quarter of 2nd c BC - Beginning of 1st c BC (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Anderson-Stojanovic 1992:83; Knigge 1976:58; Tuluk 1999:133-136, 146; Rotroff and Oliver 2003:70;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/10**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 11

Context:

Height/length: 22 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

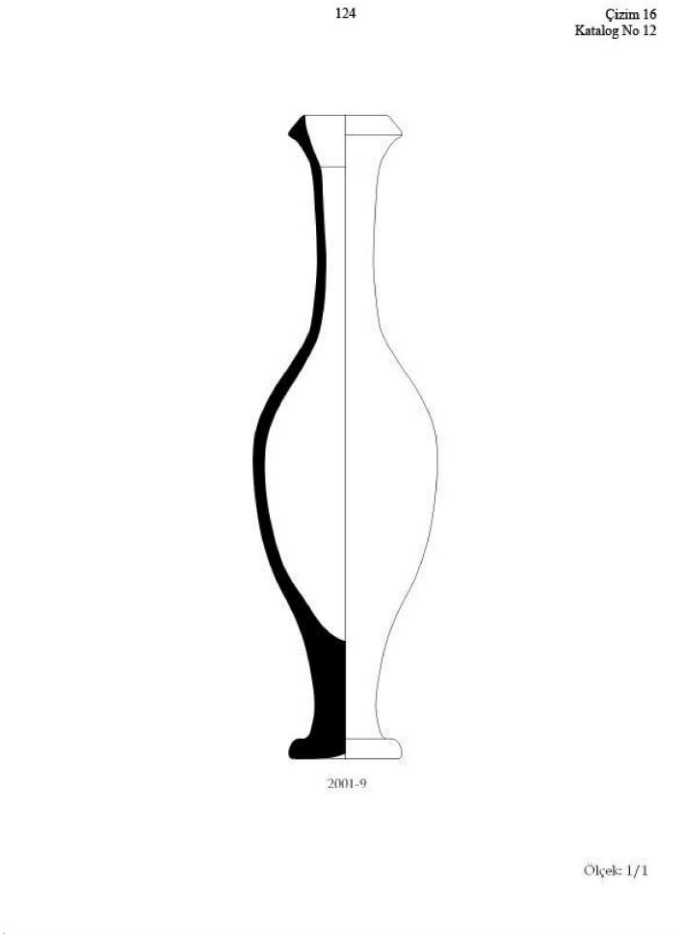
Description: Draw 15, 34, 40; fig. 21-22, 33, 36

Parallels: Stobi type D: Q3 2nd c. BC - Q1 1st c. BC (Anderson-Stojanovic 1992:83);
(Kerameikos no. 388, 390: Q3 2nd c. BC (Knigge 1976:58);
Izmir Museum Cat. no. 36: Q3-Q4 2nd c. BC;
Sardis Cat. no. 261, 263-264: Q1 2nd c. BC - Q2 1st c. BC;

Date: Last quarter of 2nd c BC - Beginning of 1st c BC (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Anderson-Stojanovic 1992:83; Knigge 1976:58; Tuluk 1999:133-136, 146; Rotroff and Oliver 2003:70;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/9**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 12

Context:

Height/length: 19,8 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

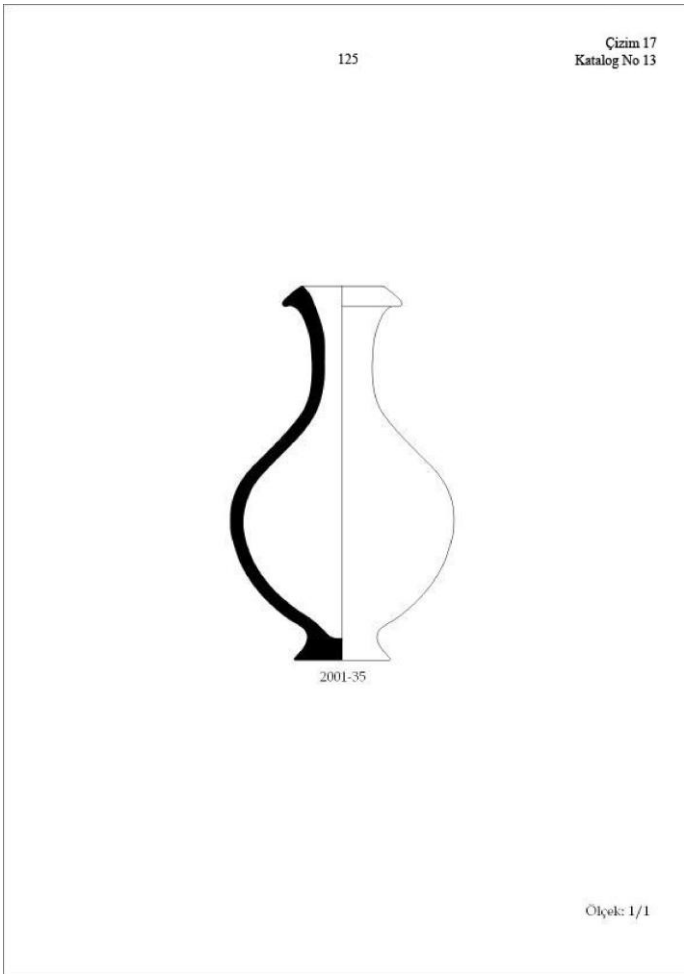
Description: Draw 16, 34, 40; fig. 21-22, 33, 37

Parallels: Stobi type D: Q3 2nd c. BC - Q1 1st c. BC (Anderson-Stojanovic 1992:83);
(Kerameikos no. 388, 390: Q3 2nd c. BC (Knigge 1976:58);
Izmir Museum Cat. no. 36: Q3-Q4 2nd c. BC;
Sardis Cat. no. 261, 263-264: Q1 2nd c. BC - Q2 1st c. BC;

Date: Last quarter of 2nd c BC - Beginning of 1st c BC (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Anderson-Stojanovic 1992:83; Knigge 1976:58; Tuluk 1999:133-136, 146; Rotroff and Oliver 2003:70;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/35**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Unguentarium

Find no: 13

Context:

Height/length: 11,5 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

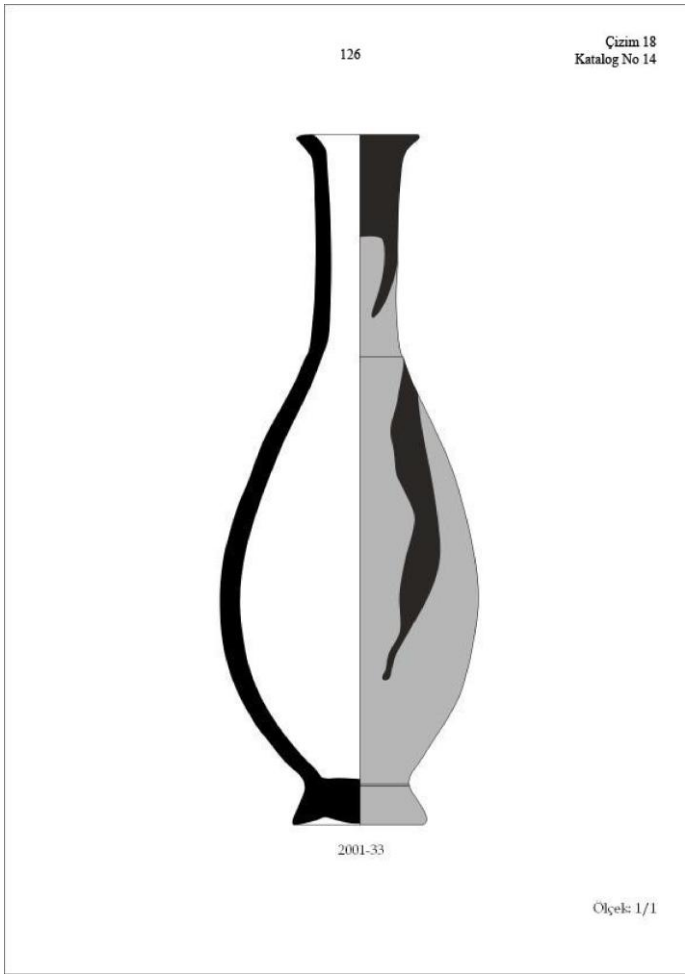
Description: Draw 17,35,40 fig. 38

Parallels: Camilli type A11.3 and A12.3: Q4 4th c. BC - Q2 3rd c. BC;

Date: Middle or second half of 1st c BC (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Camilli 1999:50-55;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/33**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Unguentarium

Find no: 14

Context:

Height/length: 21,2 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

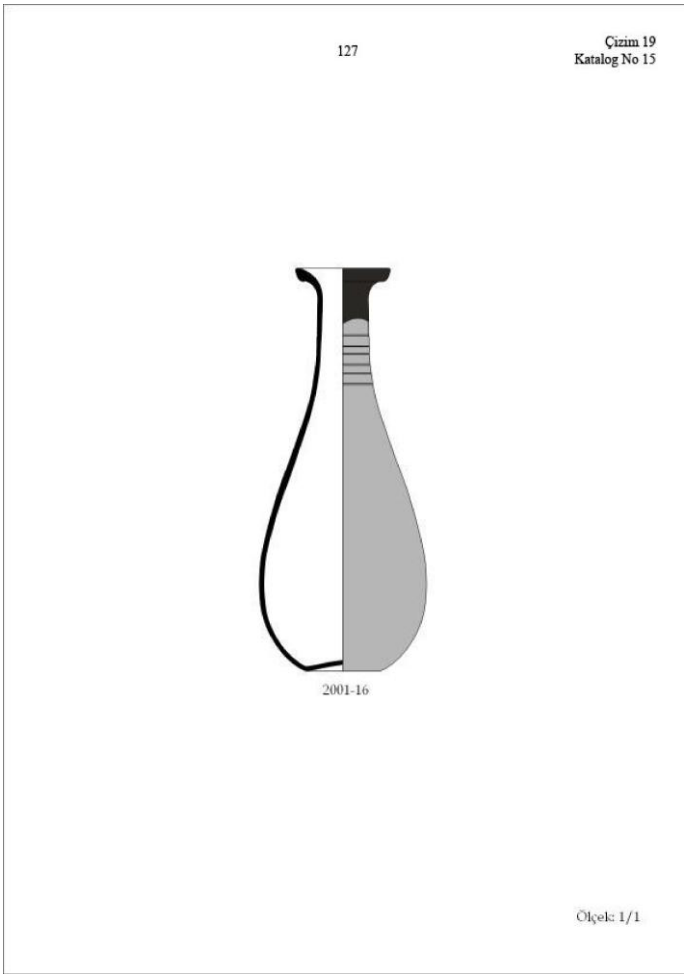
Description: Draw 18,35,40; fig. 39

Parallels: Izmir Museum Cat. nos. 50, 60, 63: End of 1st c BC;

Date: Second half of 1st c. BC

Literature: Okunak 2005; Tuluk 1999:135-136, 148-149;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/16**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

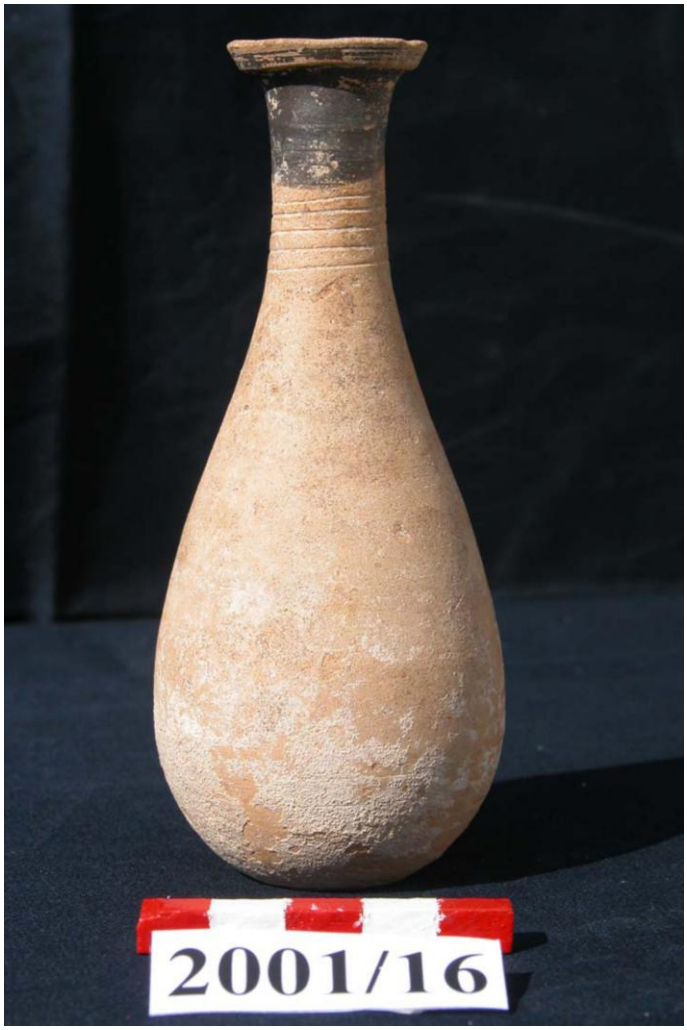


Photo: Okunak 2005

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: 15

Context:

Height/length: 12,3 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

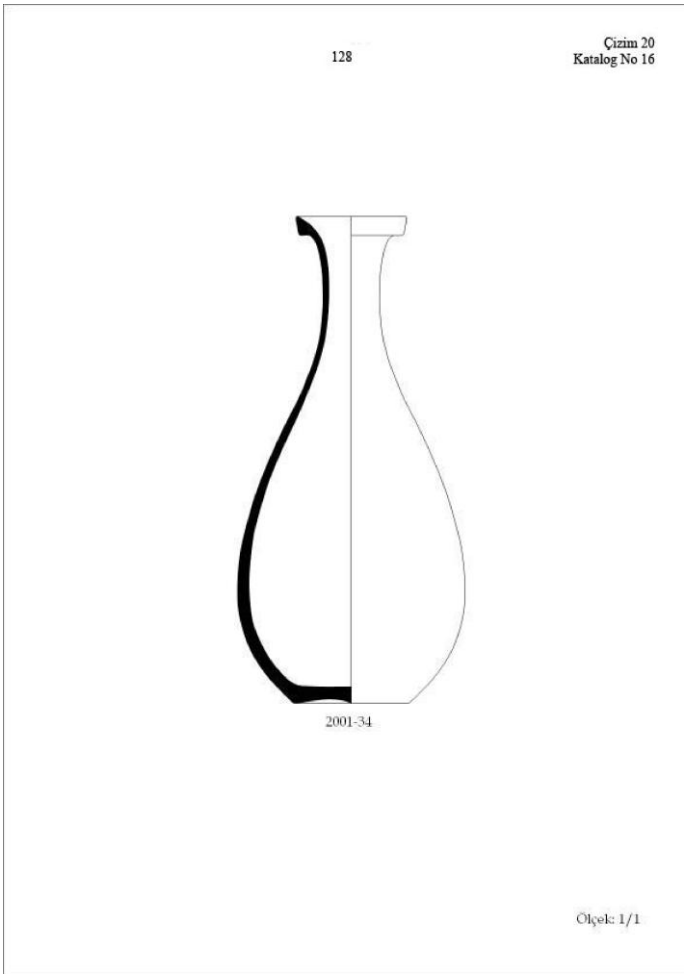
Description: Draw 19,36,40; fig 40-41

Parallels: Athenian Agora V Cat. nos. F50, G97-98 and M6-7: Q4 1st c. BC - Q4 1st c. AD;
Rim:
Parion Cat. no. 128: Q3-Q4 1st c. AD;

Date: First half of 1st c. AD

Literature: Okunak 2005

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/34**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

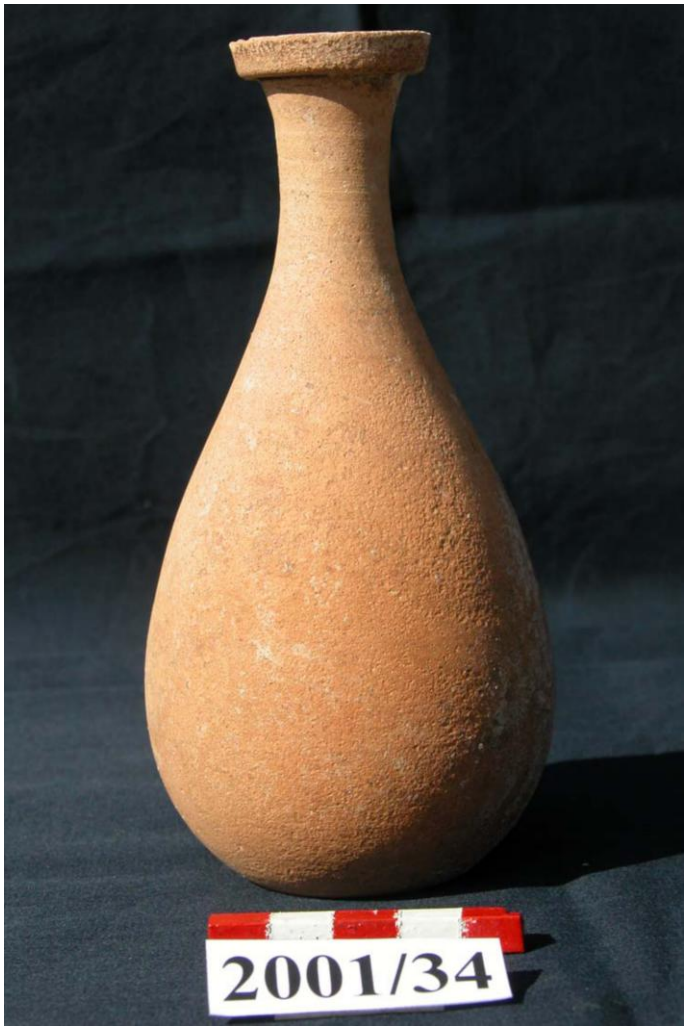


Photo: Okunak 2005

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: 16

Context:

Height/length: 14,9 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

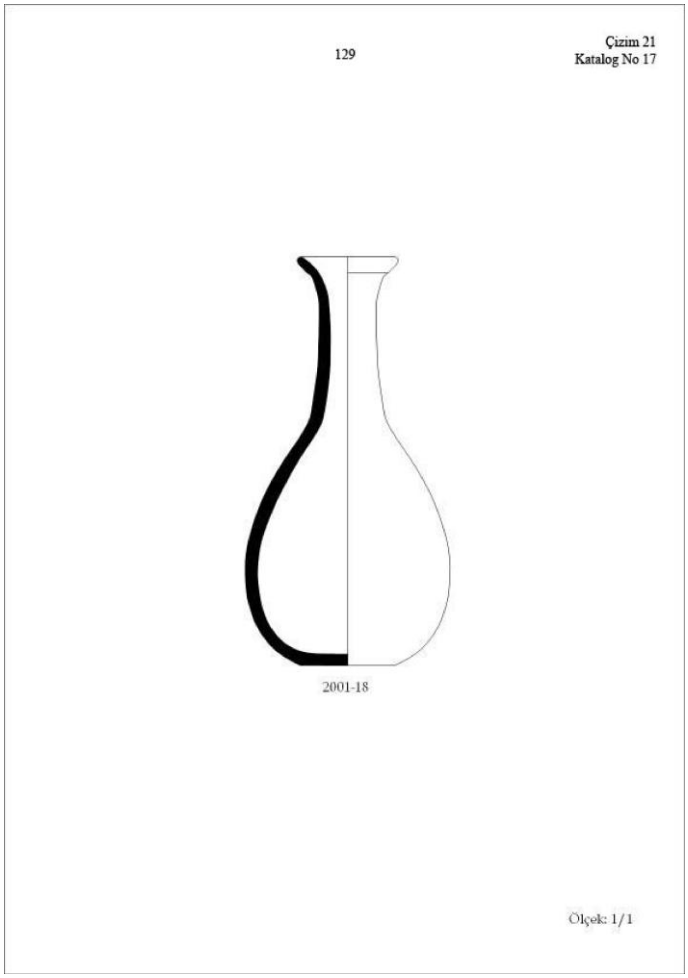
Description: Draw 20,36,40; fig 40,42

Parallels: Athenian Agora V Cat. nos. F50, G97-98 and M6-7: Q4 1st c. BC - Q4 1st c. AD;

Date: First half of 1st c. AD

Literature: Okunak 2005

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/18**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

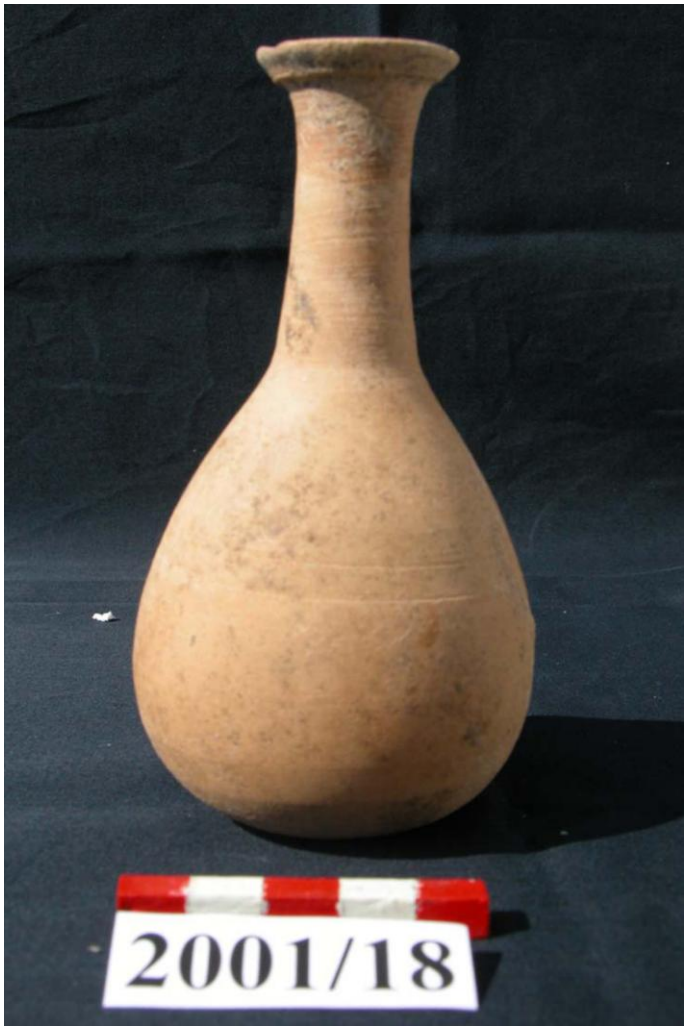


Photo: Okunak 2005

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: 17

Context:

Height/length: 12,5 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

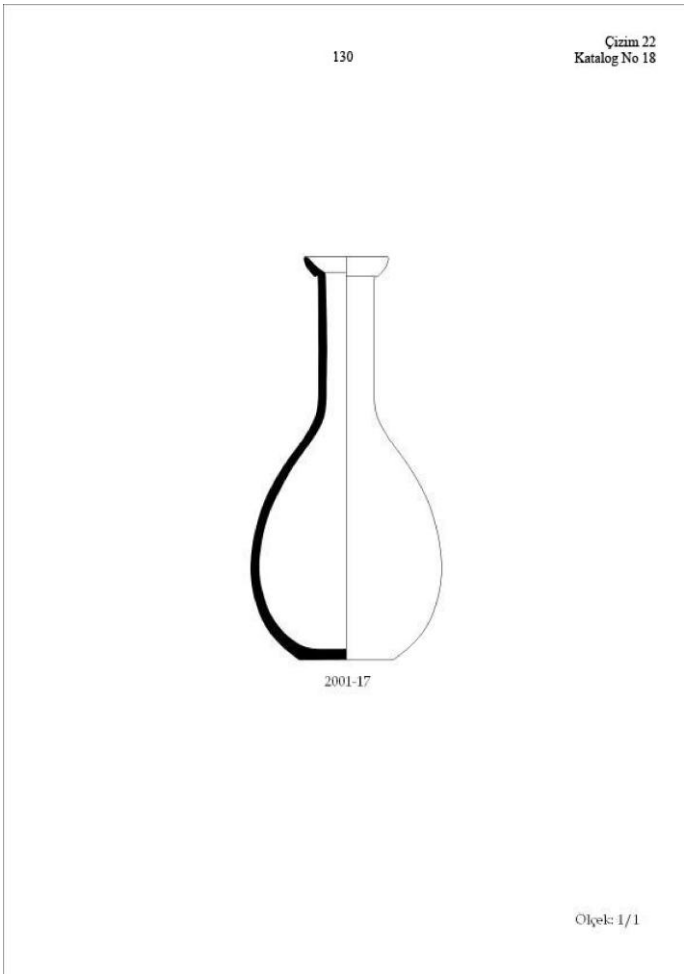
Description: Draw 21,37,40; fig 40,43

Parallels: Athenian Agora V Cat. nos. F50, G97-98 and M6-7: Q4 1st c. BC - Q4 1st c. AD;
Type UN.T3f: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
Tralleis Cat. no. 40-41: Q2-Q3 1st c. AD (NB: Circular dating!);
Parion Cat. nos. 115-117: Q1-Q3 1st c. AD;

Date: Mid-1st c. AD

Literature: Okunak 2005

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/17**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

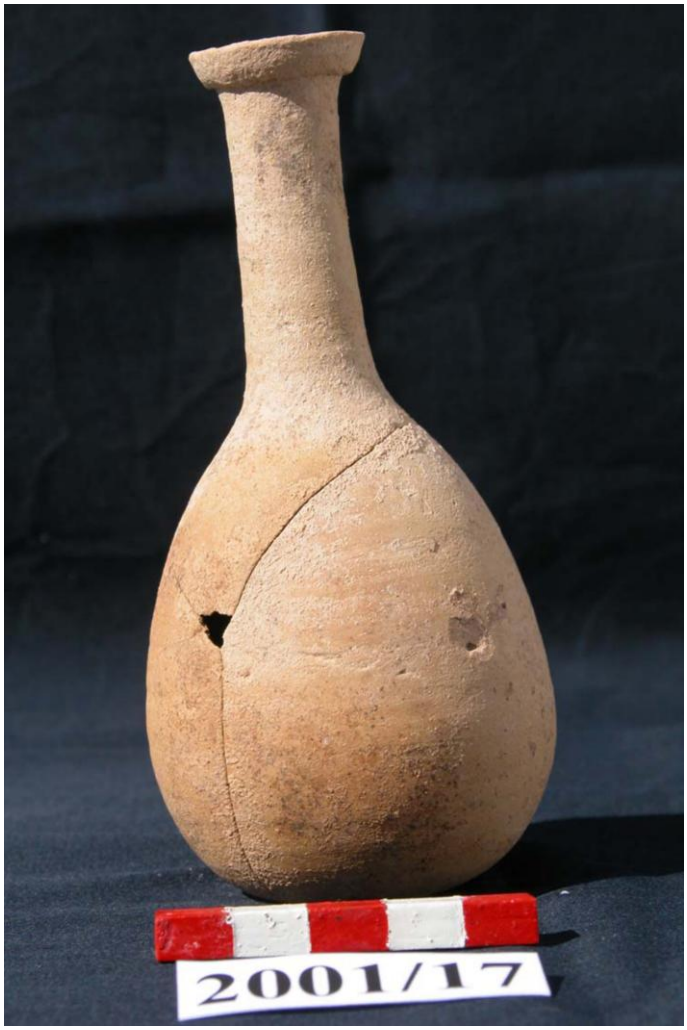


Photo: Okunak 2005

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: 18

Context:

Height/length: 12,5 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

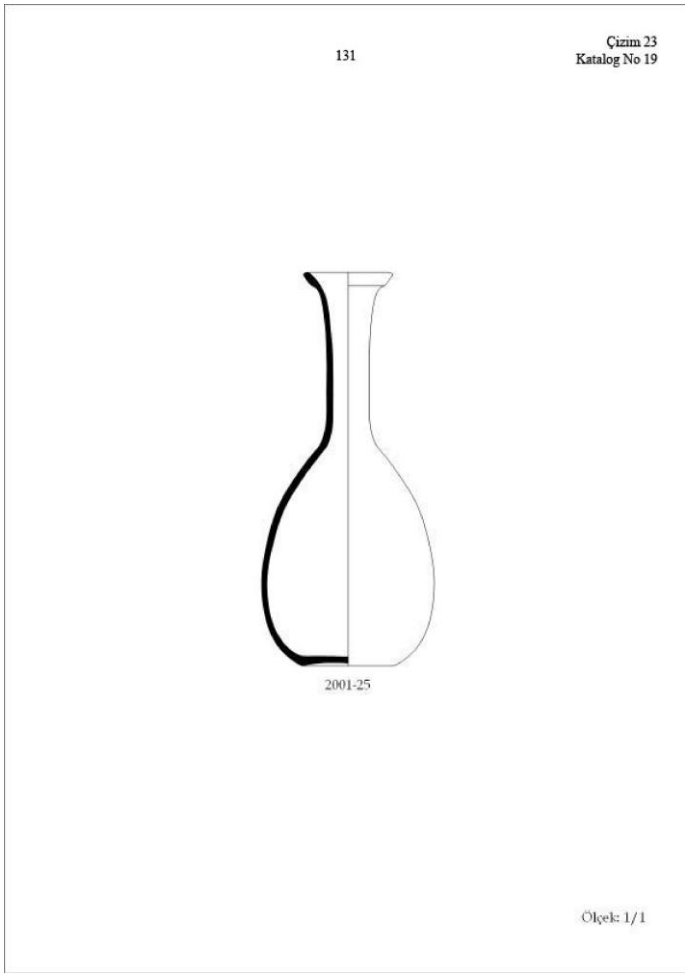
Description: Draw 22,37,40; fig 40,44

Parallels: Athenian Agora V Cat. nos. F50, G97-98 and M6-7: Q4 1st c. BC - Q4 1st c. AD;
Type UN.T3f: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
Tralleis Cat. no. 40-41: Q2-Q3 1st c. AD (NB: Circular dating!);
Parion Cat. nos. 115-117: Q1-Q3 1st c. AD;

Date: Mid-1st c. AD

Literature: Okunak 2005; Robinson 1959:15, 31, 85;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/25**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

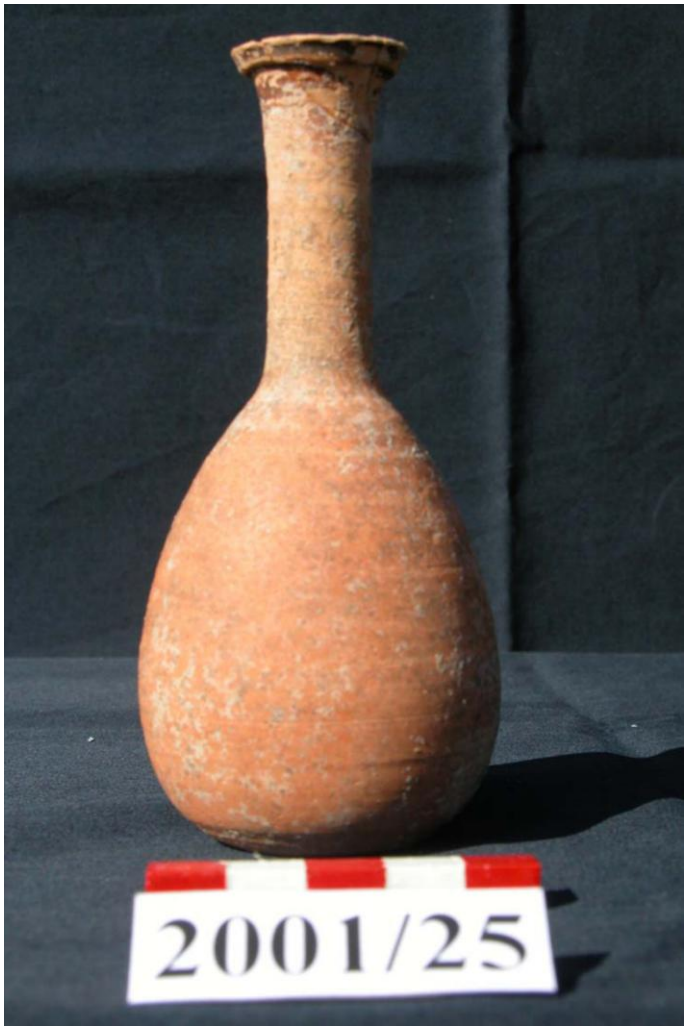


Photo: Okunak 2005

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: 19

Context:

Height/length: 12,1 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

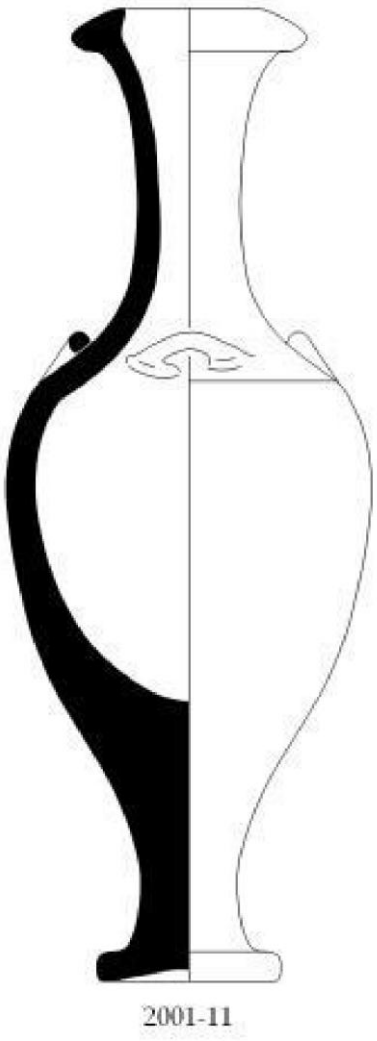
Description: Draw 23,37,40; fig 40,45

Parallels: Athenian Agora V Cat. nos. F50, G97-98 and M6-7: Q4 1st c. BC - Q4 1st c. AD;
Type UN.T3f: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
Tralleis Cat. no. 40-41: Q2-Q3 1st c. AD (NB: Circular dating!);
Parion Cat. nos. 115-117: Q1-Q3 1st c. AD;

Date: Mid-1st c. AD

Literature: Okunak 2005

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/11**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 2

Context:

Height/length: 15,2 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 5,8 / 2,8 / 2 cm

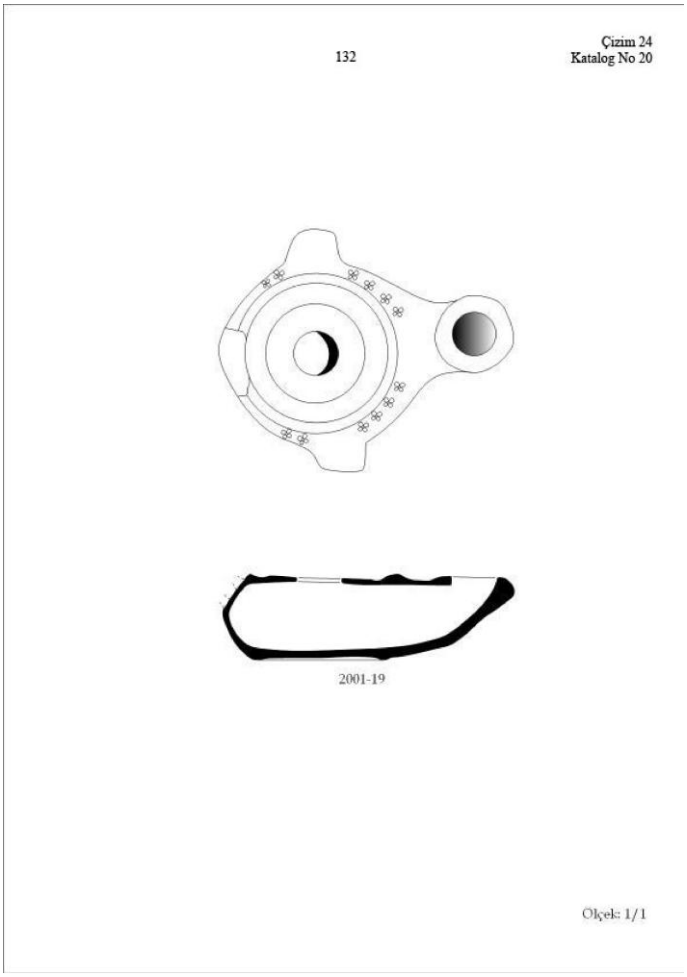
Description: …
Shoulder marknad by a marked kink, upon which are placed a set of purely decorational horizontal handles.

Parallels: (Kerameikos no. 142:Q4 4th c. BC - Q4 3rd c. BC);
Izmir Museum Cat. no. 20: Q3-Q4 3rd c. BC;

Date: Second half of 3rd c. BC (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; (Kovacsovics 1990:123); Tuluk 1999:132, 145, Pl. 2

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/19**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Lamp

Find no: 20

Context:

Height/length: 9,1 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 7,5 / 4 / 0 cm

Description: Hellenistic mould-made lamp. The body has a rounded profile with a flat base. Nozzle protruding from the body, ends in a large, circular wick-hole with a round lip. Discus and handle have been broken off.

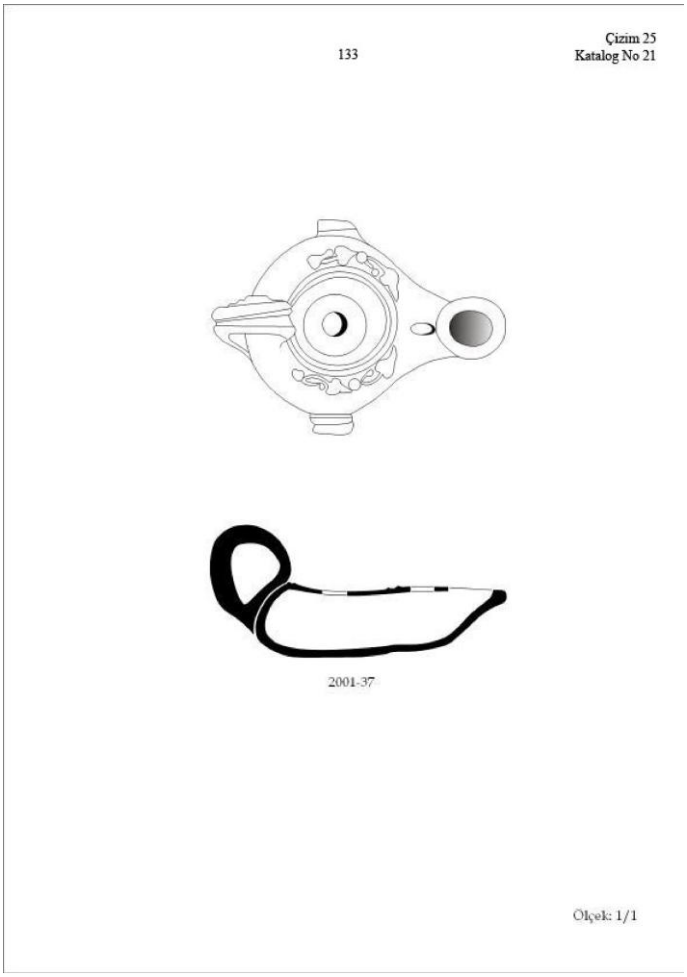
Decorated with a total of twelve rosettes on the shoulder, around the discus, and quadrangular lugs on each side of the body.

Parallels: KA.T1: Q1 2nd c. BC - Q2 1st c. BC (Laodikeia);
Q474: Q4 2nd c. BC - Q3 1st c. BC (BMC Lamps I)

Date: Last quarter of 2nd c. BC - beginning of 1st c. BC

Literature: Okunak 2005:87-88,…; Şimşek 2011:79-80; Bailey 1975: 202-203; Şimşek and Duman 2013; Equini 1972:pl. XXVIIb;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/37**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Lamp

Find no: 21

Context:

Height/length: 9 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 6,6 / 0 / 0 cm

Description: Hellenistic mould-made lamp. The body has a rounded profile with a flat base and nearly flat, undecorated discus set apart from the shoulder by a ridge. Nozzle protruding from the body, ends in a large, circular wick-hole with a round lip. Air-hole pierced through the nozzle bridge. A double-ribbed band handle is attached in a large loop at the back of the body.

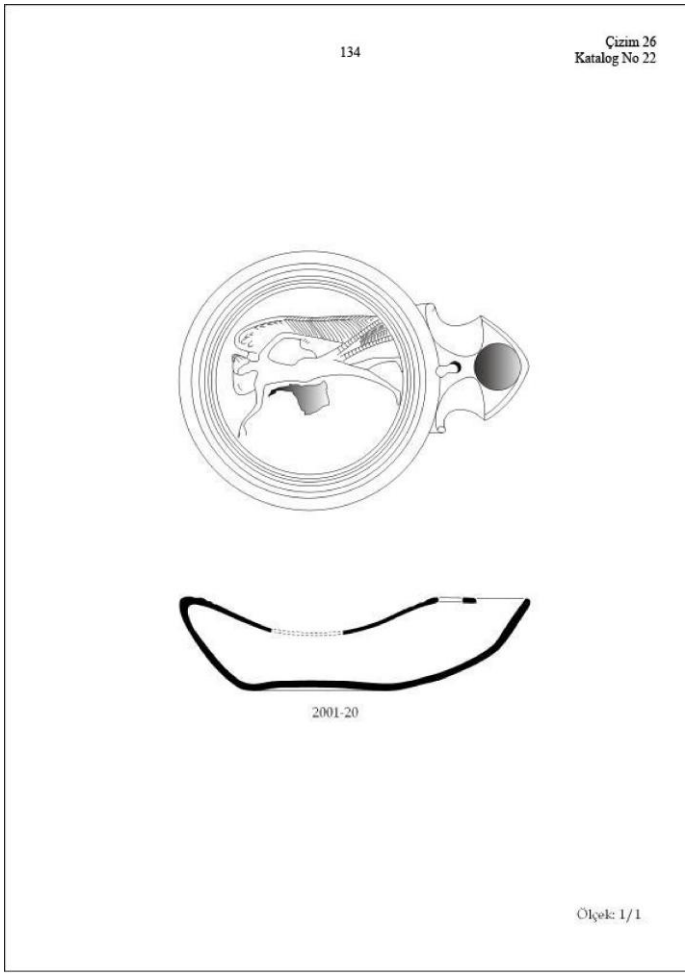
Decoration of ivy-leaves and -fruit on each side of the shoulder, and quadrangular lugs on each side of

Parallels: KA.T1: Q1 2nd c. BC - Q2 1st c. BC (Laodikeia);
Q474: Q4 2nd c. BC - Q3 1st c. BC (BMC Lamps I)

Date: Last quarter of 2nd c. BC - beginning of 1st c. BC

Literature: Okunak 2005:89, …; Şimşek 2011:79-80; Bailey 1975: 202-203; Şimşek and Duman 2013; Equini 1972:pl. XXVIIb;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/20**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Loeschcke I Lamp

Find no: 22

Context:

Height/length: 10,2 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 8 / 4 / 0 cm

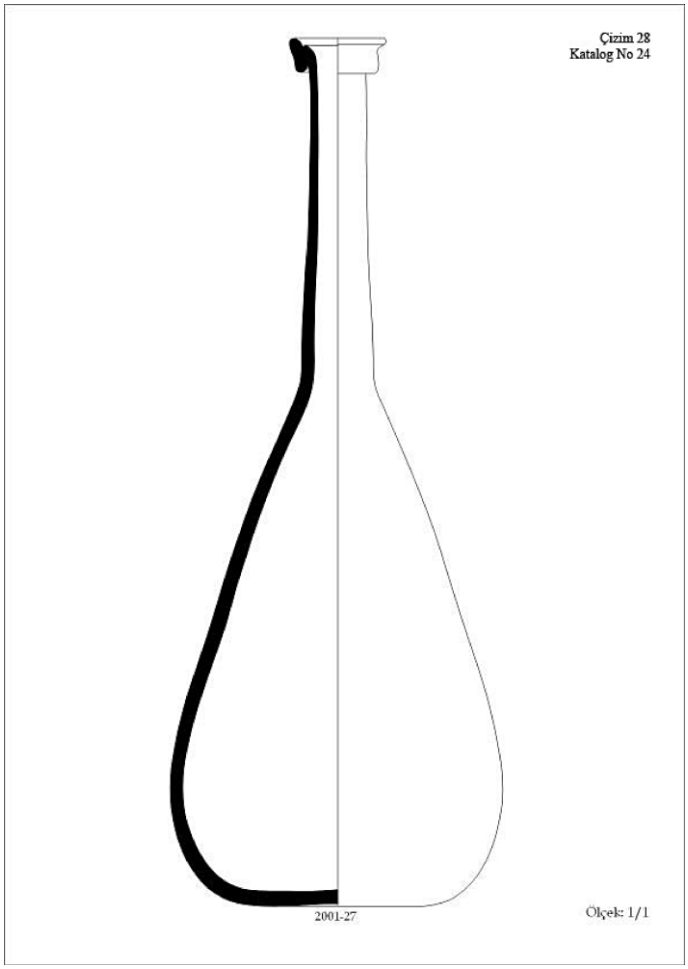
Description: Loeschcke I lamp with handelless, circular body, medium broad, triangular volute-nozzle, and concave discus. Double punched air-hole between the volutes, and filling hole slightly off-centre, around which part of the discus is broken. The discus depicts a winged figure (Nike) moving left with the right hand raised in front (to carry a wreath?).

Parallels: BMC Lamps II Type A-ii: Augustan - Tiberian;

Date: First half of 1st c. AD

Literature: Okunak 2005: 90, ...; BMC Lamps II:132

Tomb: T159d Inv: 2001/27



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: 24

Context:

Height/length: 26,9 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 10,3 / 5 / 2,5 cm

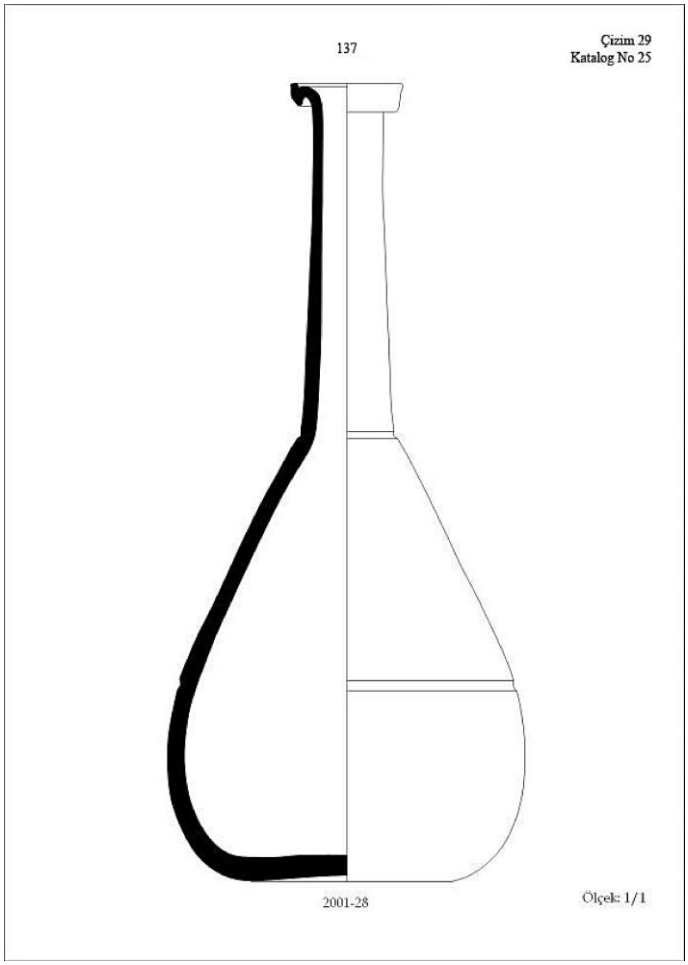
Description: Glass candlestick unguentarium with heigh triangular body and long, slender neck. The rim is pulled downwards and folded back straight up. Greenish-blue glass.

Parallels: S220-5: ca. 25 AD (Samothrace II);

Date: First half of 1st c. AD (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Dusenbery 1998:1115-1116;

Tomb: T159d Inv: 2001/28



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: 25

Context:

Height/length: 24,7 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 11,1 / 6 / 3 cm

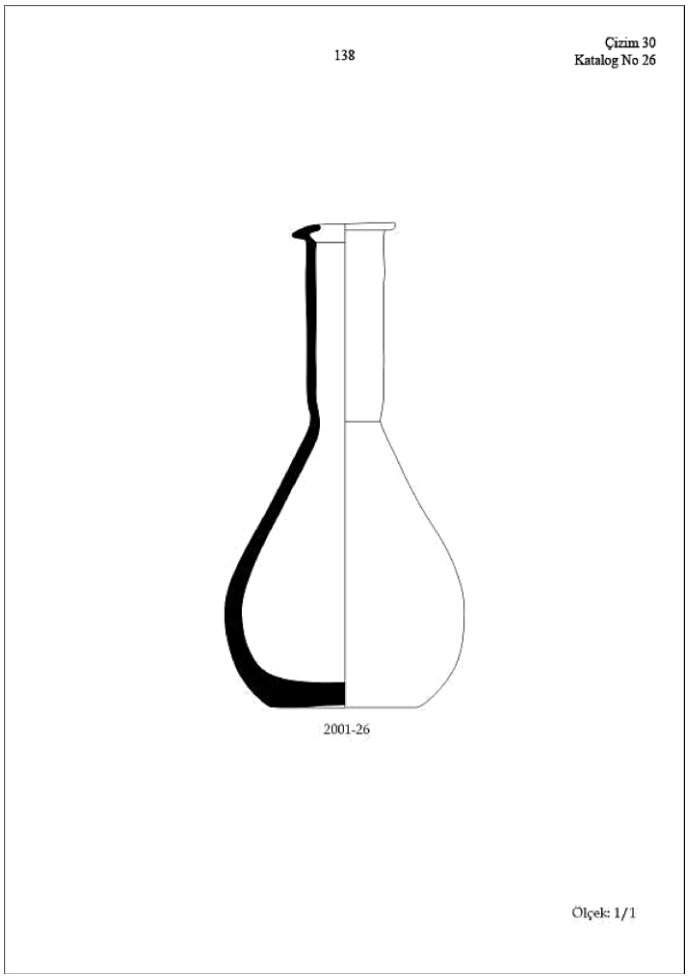
Description: Glass candlestick unguentarium with triangular body and long, slender neck. The rim is pulled downwards and folded back straight up. Greenish-blue glass with a lightly incised line on the body and a marked transition to neck.

Parallels: S220-5: ca. 25 AD (Samothrace II);

Date: First half of 1st c. AD (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Dusenbery 1998:1115-1116;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/26**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: 26

Context:

Height/length: 14,8 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 7,4 / 4,5 / 1,6 cm

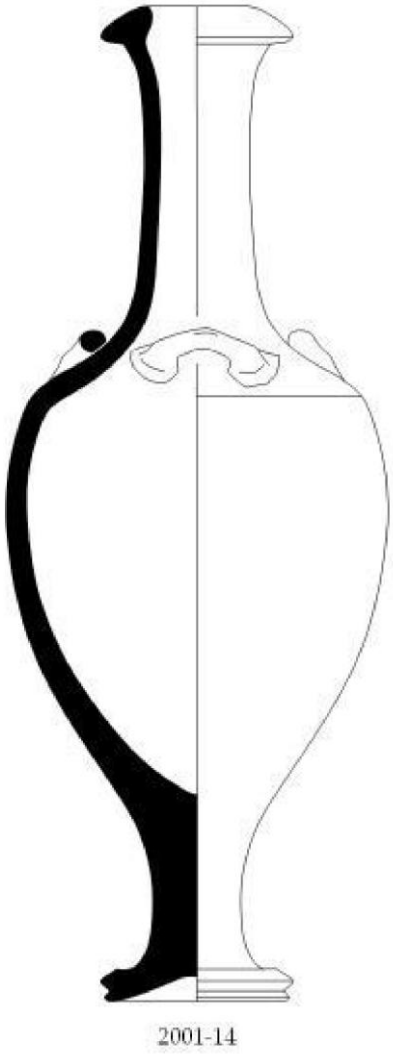
Description: Glass piriform unguentarium with constricted beginning of neck and rim pulled out and folded back over the opening. Blueish-green glass.

Parallels: Type CA.T3b: Augustan era (Laodikeia);
S200-4 and S206-5: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Samothrace II);

Date: First half of 1st c. AD (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Simsek 2011:??; Dusenbury 1998:1107, 1109;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/14**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 3

Context:

Height/length: 18 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 6,9 / 3,2 / 1,8 cm

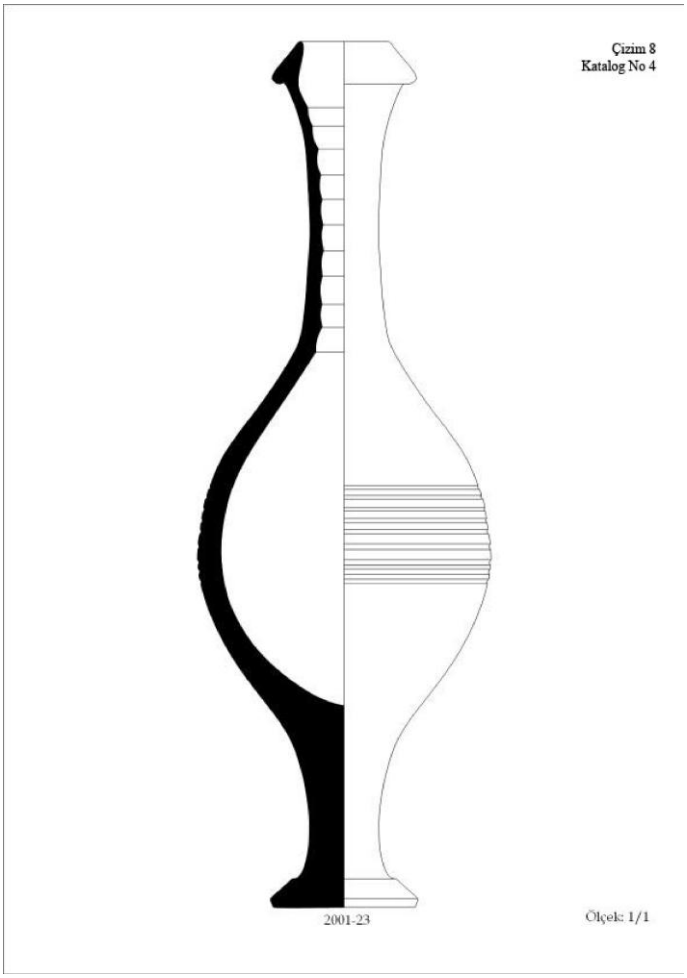
Description: …
Shoulder marknad by a sharp kink, upon which are placed a set of purely decorational horizontal handles.

Parallels: (Kerameikos no. 142:Q4 4th c. BC - Q4 3rd c. BC);
Izmir Museum Cat. no. 20: Q3-Q4 3rd c. BC;

Date: Second half of 3rd c. BC (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; (Kovacsovics 1990:123); Tuluk 1999:132, 145, Pl. 2;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/23**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 4

Context:

Height/length: 26,6 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 9 / 4,3 / 2,7 cm

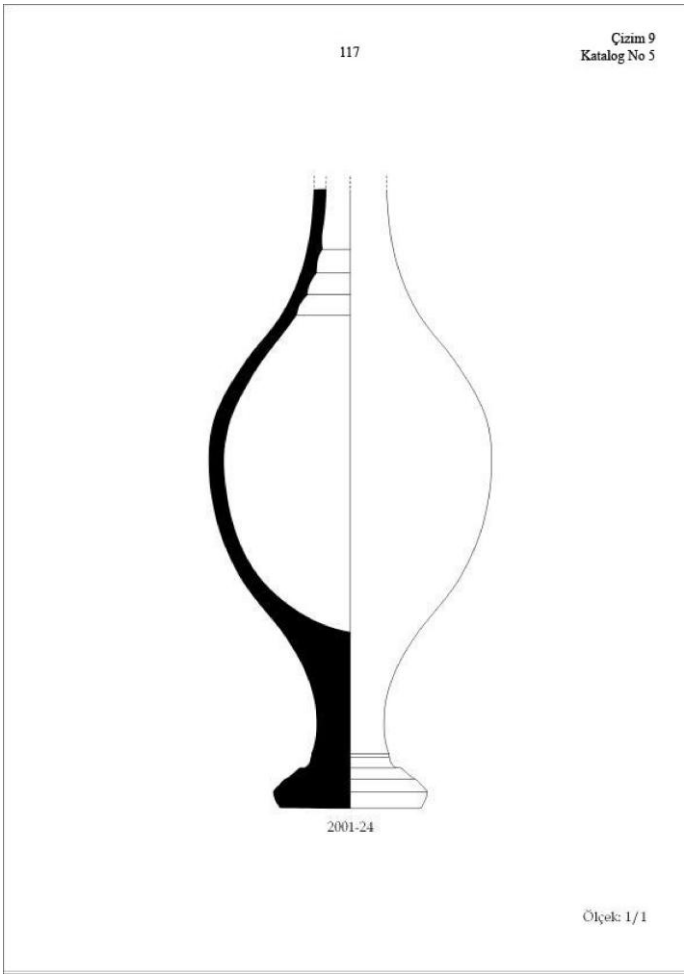
Description: Kuppelförmiger Mündung
Draw 8, 33, 40; fig 21-22, 27-28

Parallels: Check Dotterweich - Knidos and/or Cyprus;
Anderson-Stojanovic 1992 no. 281 and 562-563: Q4 3rd c BC - Q1 2nd c BC;
Metropolis: Meriç 2003a, 55

Date: Last quarter of 3rd c BC - beginning of 2nd c. (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/24**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 5

Context:

Height/length: cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

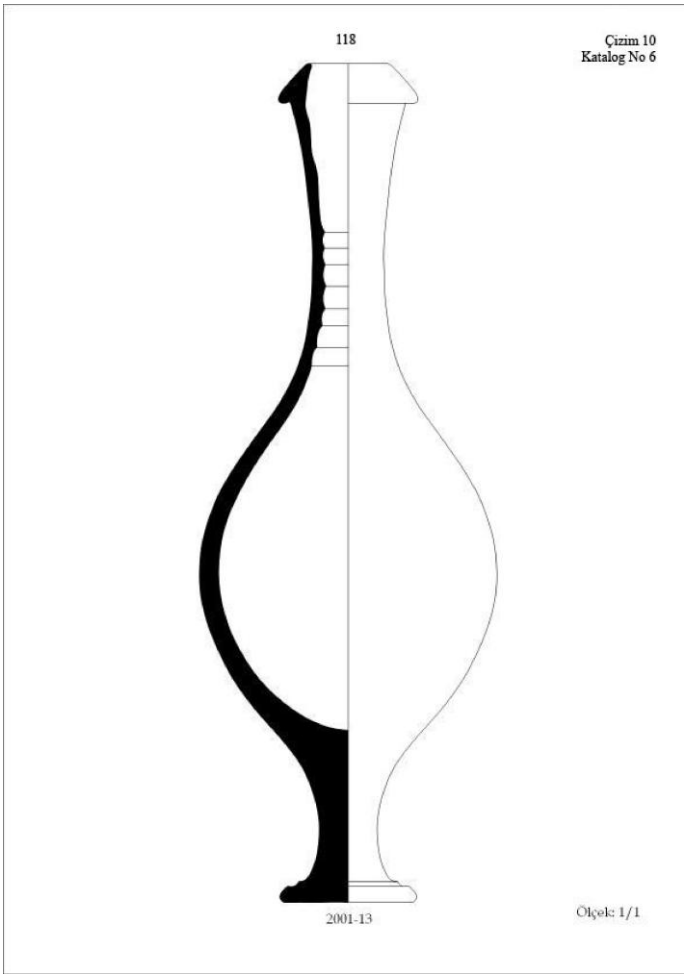
Description: Draw 9, 33, 40; fig 21-22, 27, 29

Parallels: Check Dotterweich - Knidos and/or Cyprus;
Anderson-Stojanovic 1992 no. 281 and 562-563: Q4 3rd c BC - Q1 2nd c BC;
Metropolis: Meriç 2003a, 55

Date: Last quarter of 3rd c BC - beginning of 2nd c. (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/13**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 6

Context:

Height/length: 25,7 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

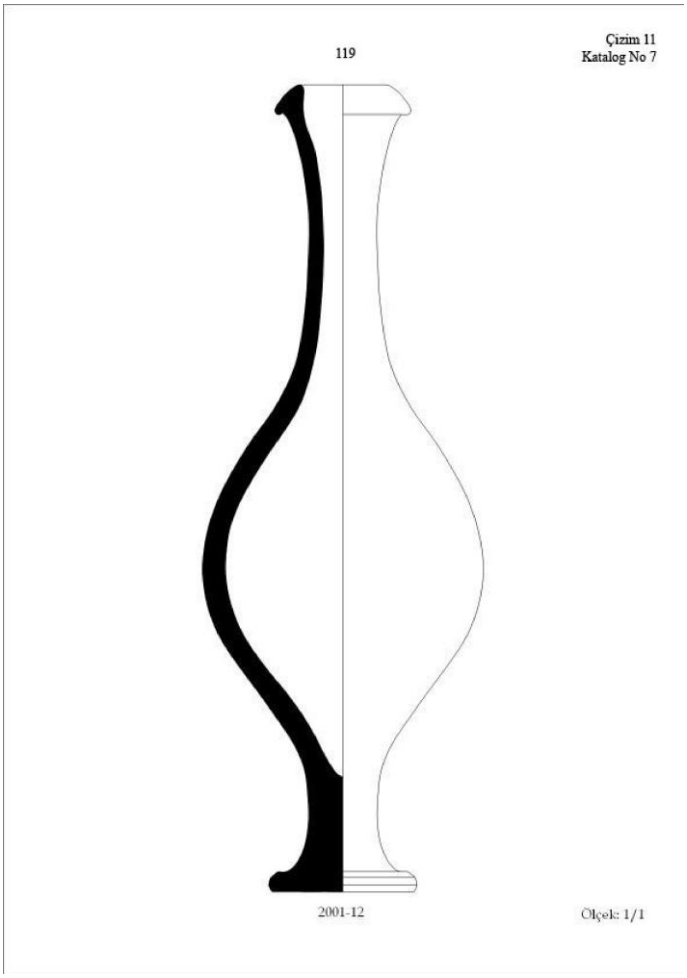
Description: Draw 10, 33, 40; fig 21-22. 27. 30

Parallels: Check Dotterweich - Knidos and/or Cyprus;
Anderson-Stojanovic 1992 no. 281 and 562-563: Q4 3rd c BC - Q1 2nd c BC;
Metropolis: Meriç 2003a, 55

Date: Last quarter of 3rd c BC - beginning of 2nd c. (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/12**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 7

Context:

Height/length: 24,7 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

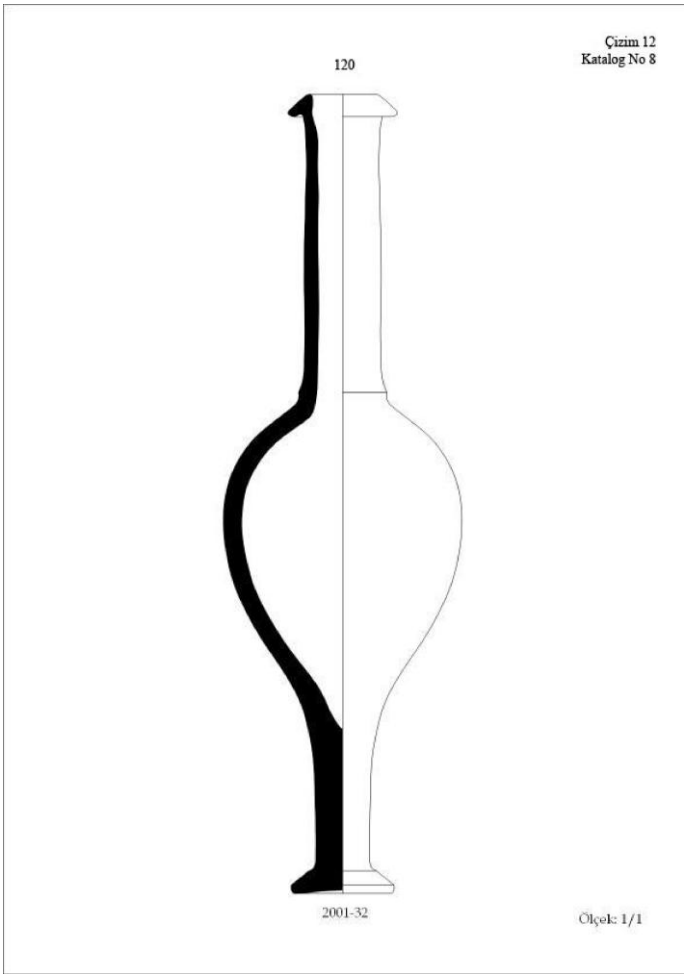
Description: Draw 11, 33, 40; fig 21-22, 27, 31

Parallels: Check Dotterweich - Knidos and/or Cyprus;
Anderson-Stojanovic 1992 no. 281 and 562-563: Q4 3rd c BC - Q1 2nd c BC;
Metropolis: Meriç 2003a, 55

Date: Last quarter of 3rd c BC - beginning of 2nd c. (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/32**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 8

Context:

Height/length: 24,5 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

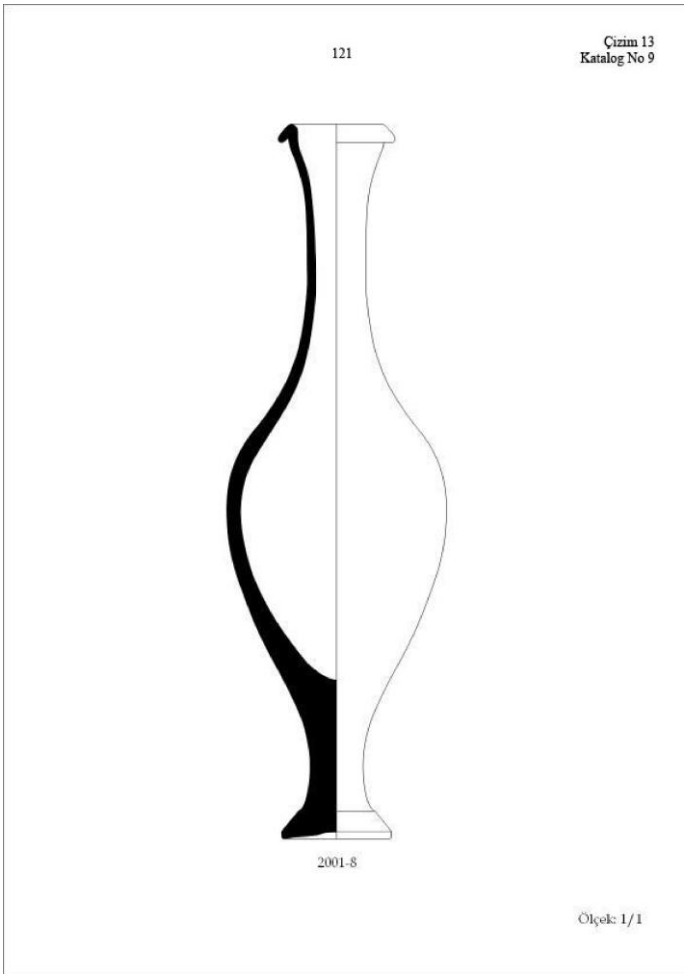
Description: Draw 12, 40; fig 21-22, 32

Parallels: Profile:
Izmir Museum Cat. no. 32-34: Q3-Q4 2rd c. BC;

Date: Last quarter of 2nd c. BC (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Tuluk 1999:133-134, 146;

Tomb: T159d **Inv: 2001/8**



Drawing: Okunak 2005

Photo: Okunak 2005

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no: 9

Context:

Height/length: 21,9 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

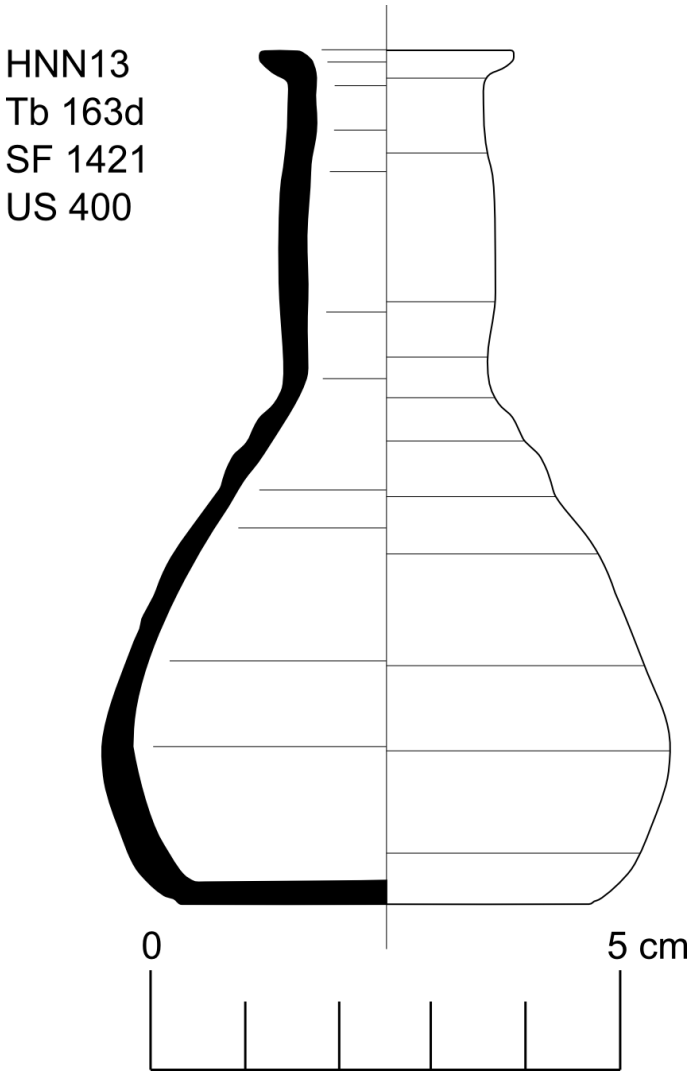
Description: Draw 13, 34, 40; fig. 21-22, 33-34

Parallels: Stobi type D: Q3 2nd c. BC - Q1 1st c. BC (Anderson-Stojanovic 1992:83);
(Kerameikos no. 388, 390: Q3 2nd c. BC (Knigge 1976:58);
Izmir Museum Cat. no. 36: Q3-Q4 2nd c. BC;
Sardis Cat. no. 261, 263-264: Q1 2nd c. BC - Q2 1st c. BC;

Date: Last quarter of 2nd c BC (Okunak)

Literature: Okunak 2005; Anderson-Stojanovic 1992:83; Knigge 1976:58; Tuluk 1999:133-136, 146; Rotroff and Oliver 2003:70;

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 1421**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 400 47 5

Height/length: 9,3 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 3,7 / 2,7 cm

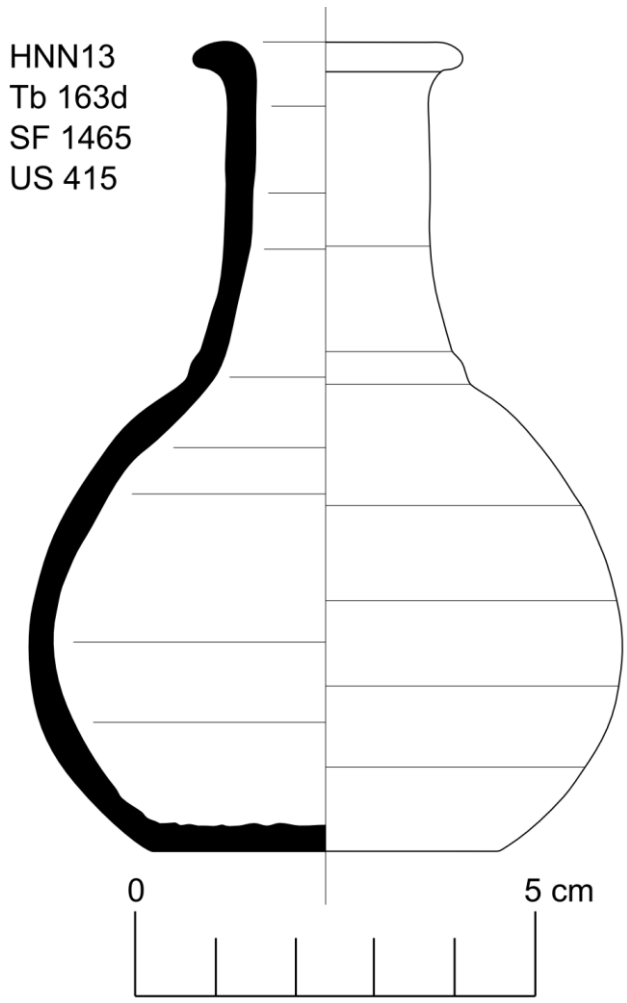
Description: Unguentarium with piriform body, vaguely concave neck and slight outturned lip.

Parallels: UN.T3e-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 1465**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 415 48 5

Height/length: 10 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 3,3 / 3 cm

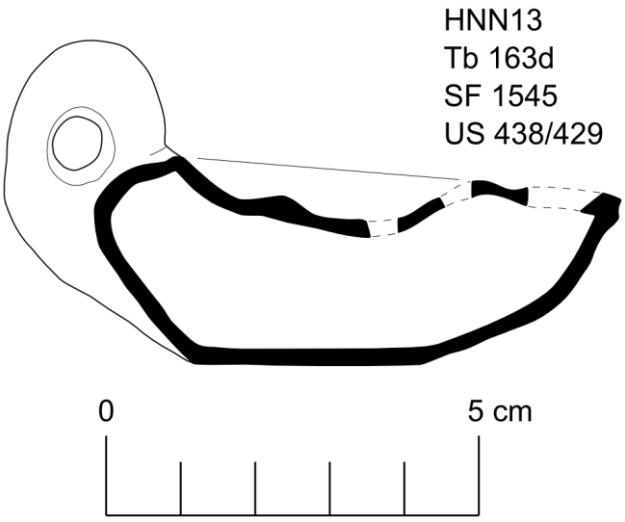
Description: Unguentarium with globular body, staight to concave neck and outturned lip.

Parallels: UN.T3e-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 1545**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

oeschcke VIII Lamp

Find no:

Context: 429 55 7

Height/length: cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

Description: Complete Loeschcke Type VIII lamp with flat base and ring handle. Discus decorated with dove on myrtle branch, facing right and wings raised. Air slit and single fill hole.

Parallels: Discus:
BMC Lamps II: Q4 1st c. AD - Q1 3rd c. AD - the decoration usual early;
Group IV (b) vi (cf. Q2429 or 3032): First two c. AD (BMC Lamps III);
Shape:
KA T9a-c: Q3 1st c. AD - Q4 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia);

Date: Second half of 1st c. AD - end of 2nd c. AD

Literature: BMC Lamps III:81-82,361; BMC Lamps II:369; Laodikeia:400-404;

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 165**

Photo:

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 173 9 1

Height/length: 8,2 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 6,4 / 3 / cm

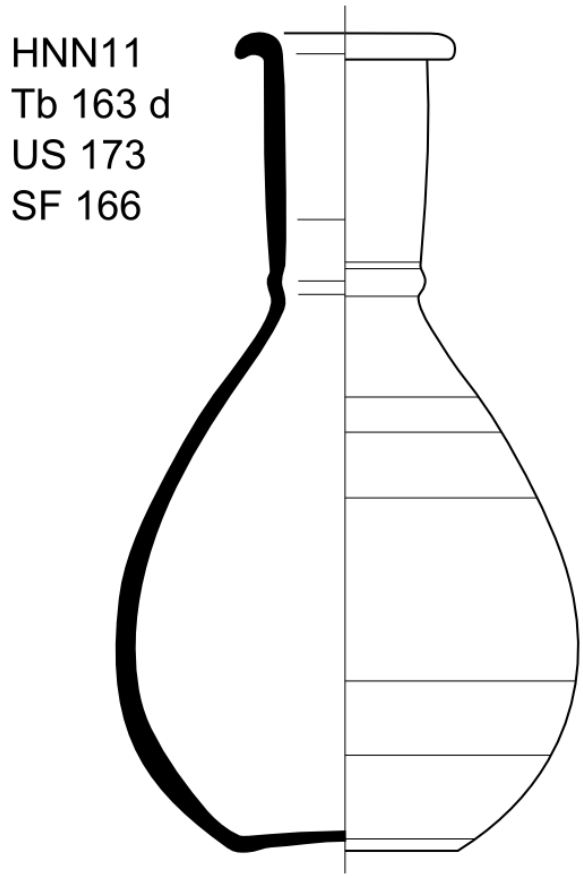
Description: Body of a piriform unguentarium.

Parallels: UN.T3e or UN.T3g-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 166**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 173 9 1

Height/length: 12 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 6,7 / 3 / 3 cm

Description: Unguentarium with piriform body, marked transition to neck and outturned lip.

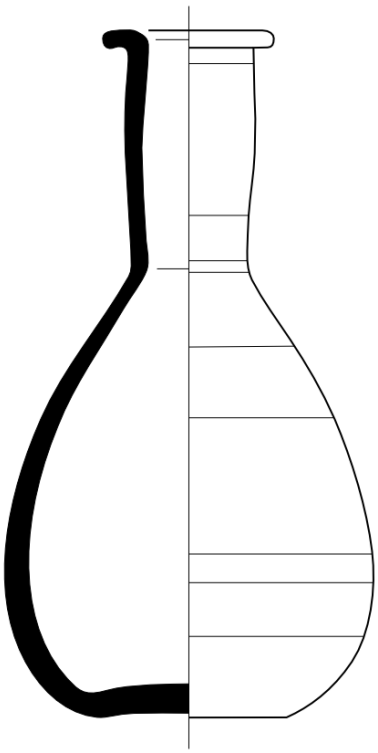
Parallels: UN.T3e-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011;

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 168**

HNN11
Tb 163 d
US 173
SF 168



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 173 9 1

Height/length: 12,7 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 6,8 / 3 / 3 cm

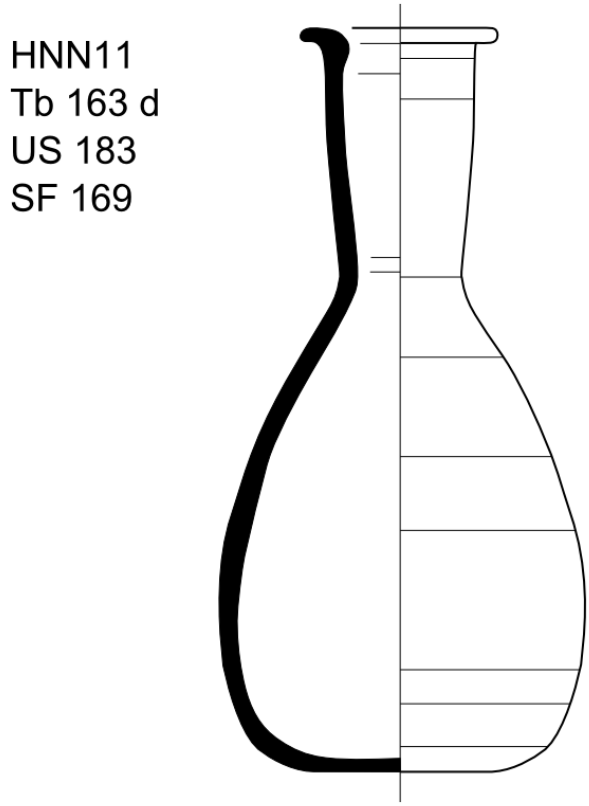
Description: Unguentarium with piriform body, marked transition to neck and outturned lip.

Parallels: UN.T3e-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 169**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 183 9 1

Height/length: 11,9 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 6,2 / 3 / 3 cm

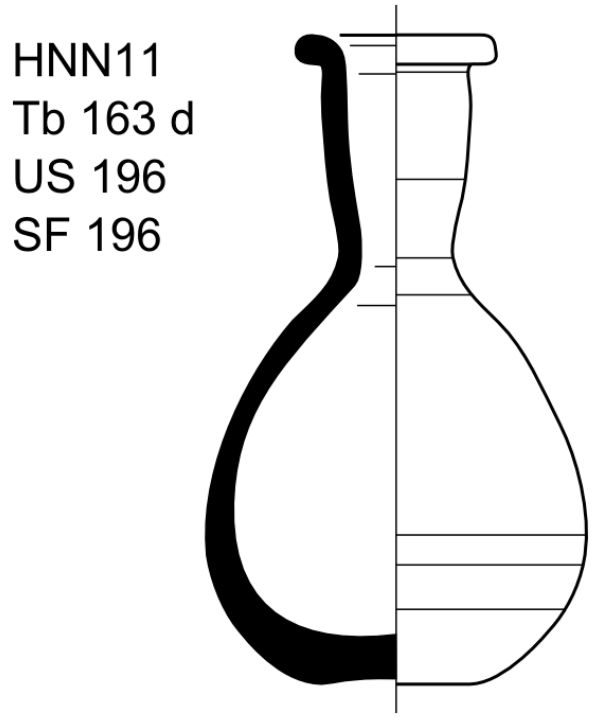
Description: Unguentarium with piriform body, marked transition to neck and outturned lip.

Parallels: UN.T3e-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 196**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 196 11 1

Height/length: 9,5 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 5,7 / 2,8 / 2,8 cm

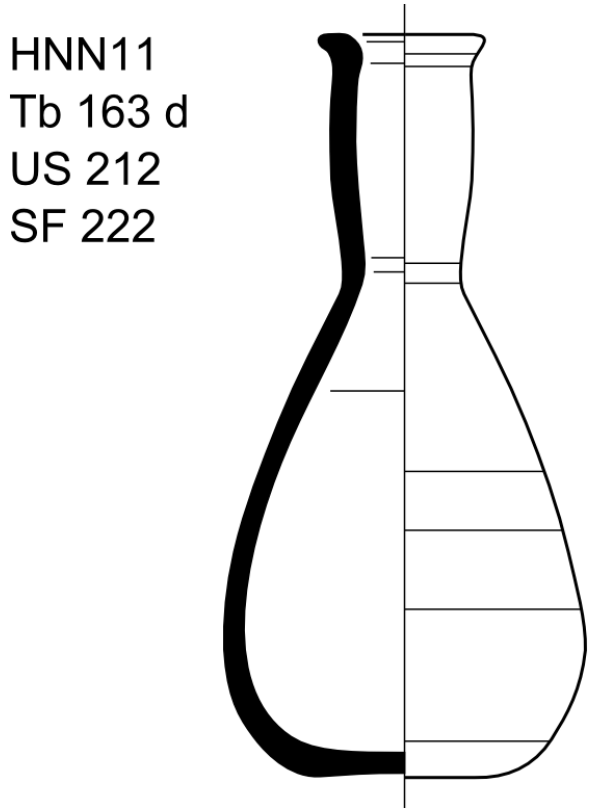
Description: Unguentarium with piriform to globular body, marked transition to neck and outturned lip.

Parallels: UN.T3e-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 222**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 212 21 2

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

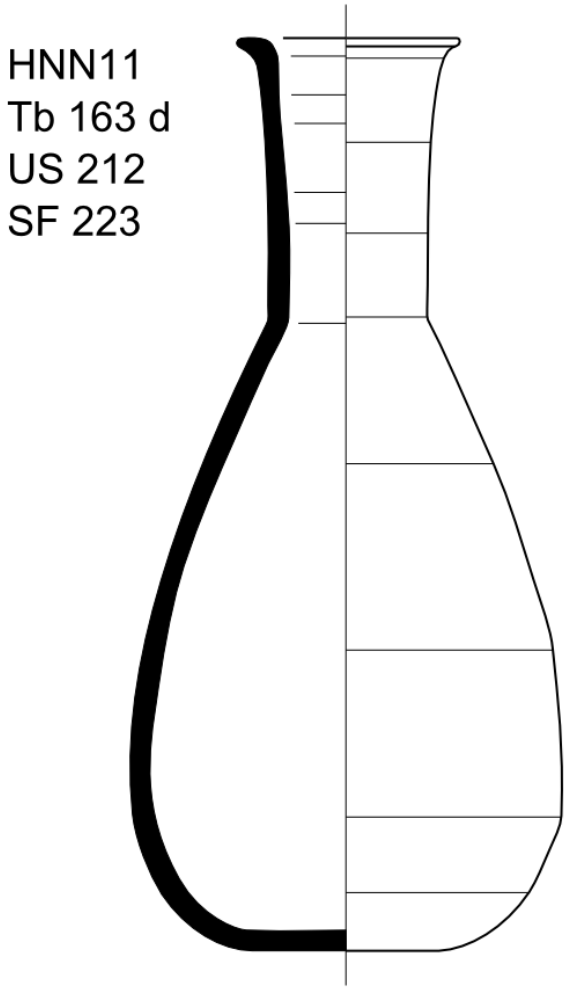
Description: Unguentarium with piriform body, soft transition to vaguely concave neck and slight outturned lip.

Parallels: UN.T3e-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 223**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 212 21 2

Height/length: 11,6 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 4,6 / 3 / 3,2 cm

Description: Unguentarium with piriform body, straight neck and slight outturned, pointed lip.

Parallels: UN.T3g-type: Q4 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);
C33-shape: Q3 1st c. BC - Q2 1st c. AD (Camilli)

Date:

Literature: Camilli 1999: 141-145; Simsek 2011

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 5**

Photo:

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context:

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

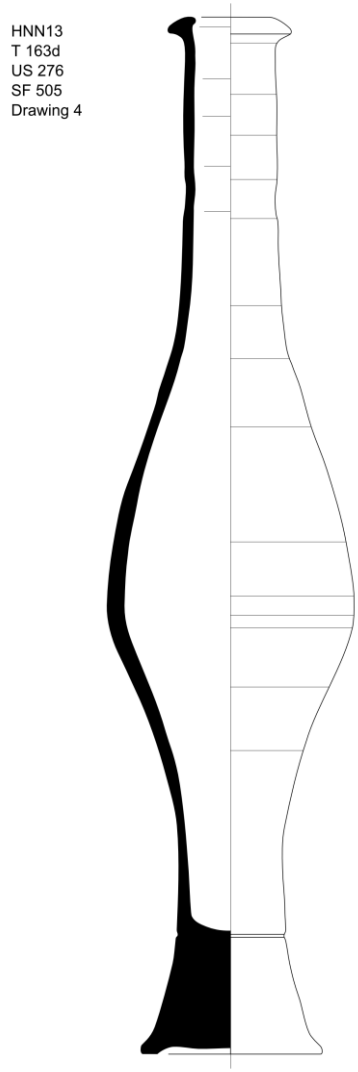
Description: Fusiform unguentarium with slim body, straight neck and wide, outturned lip. Unknown foot. Painted slip on the uppermost part of the neck and the rim.

Parallels: UN.T5c-type: 1st c. - Q3 2nd c. (Laodikeia);

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011: Table 71-72;

Tomb: T163d Inv: 505



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 276 34 4

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

Description: Fusiform unguentarium with straight neck and outturned lip. Painted slip on the uppermost part of the neck and the rim.

Parallels: UN.T5c-type: Q1 1st c. - Q3 2nd c. (Laodikeia);

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011: Pl. 71-72; Lafli 2003:106-107, Pl. 193-200

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 513**

Photo:

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 277 31 4

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

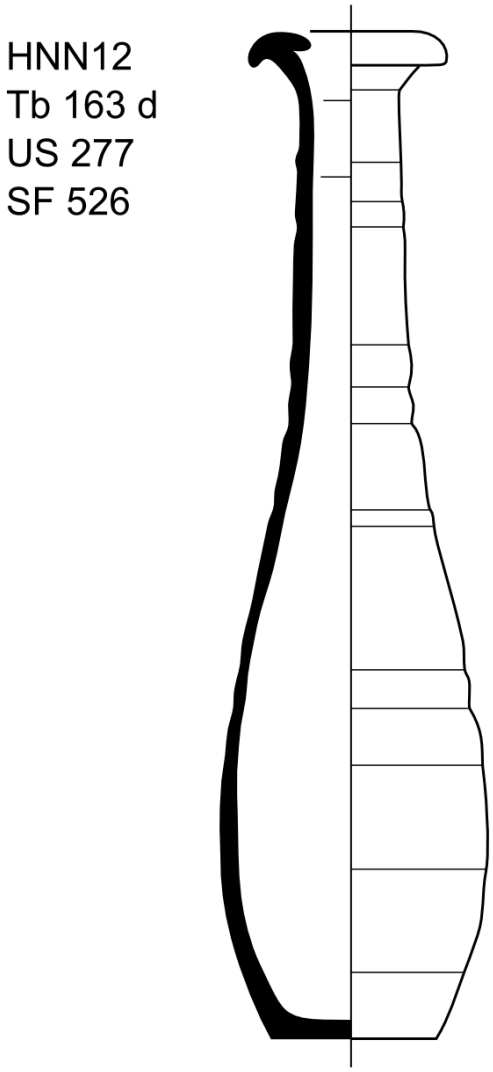
Description: Unguentarium with ovoid body, marked, flat base and soft transition to neck.

Parallels: UN.T4-type: Q3 1st c. AD - Q1 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia);

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011: Pl. 65-70;

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 526**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 277 31 4

Height/length: 18 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 4,5 / 3 / 3,4 cm

Description: Unguentarium with flat base, ovoid body with soft transition to long neck and wide, outturned lip.

Parallels: UN.T3k: Q4 1st c. BC - Q2 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia);

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011: Pl. 65-69;

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 7**

Photo:

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no:

Context:

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

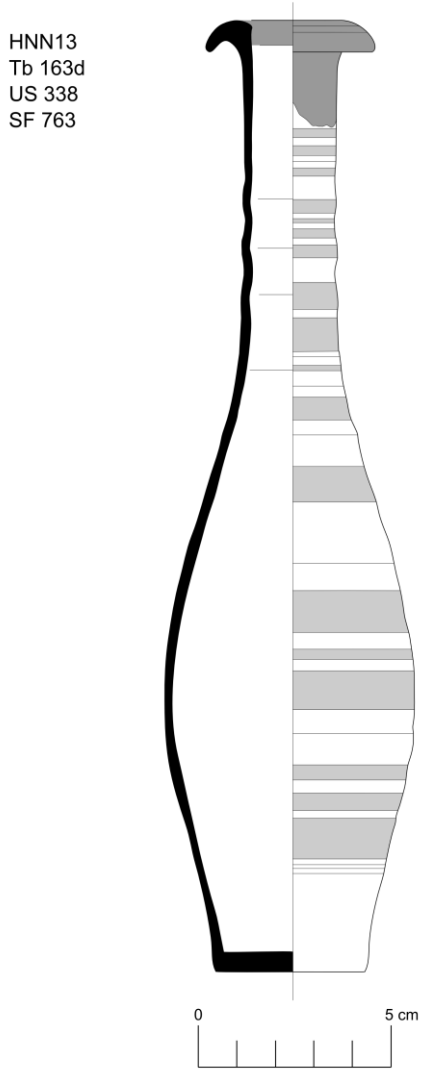
Description: Unguentarium with flat base, ovoid body with soft transition to grooved neck and wide flaring lip.

Parallels: UN.T3l or UN.T4-type: Q3 1st c. - Q2 2nd c. (Laodikeia);

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011:Plate 70;

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 763**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 338 49 5

Height/length: 24,6 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 4,4 / 4 cm

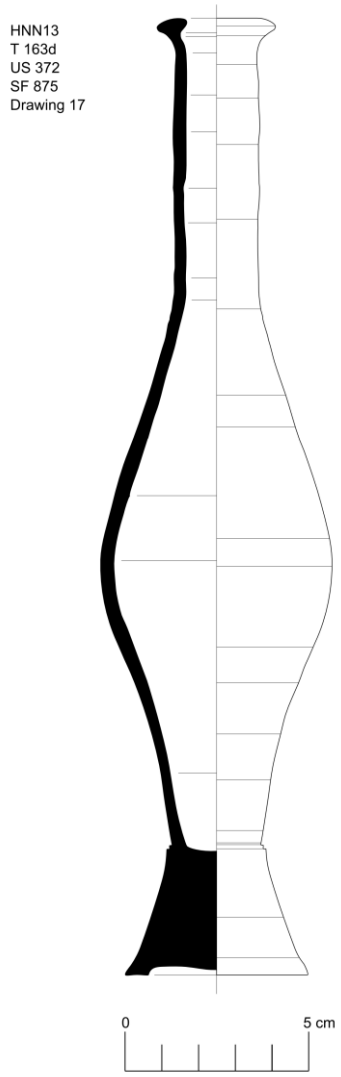
Description: Unguentarium with flat base, ovoid body with soft transition to long neck and wide, outturned lip. Rim and upper neck painted in dark purple slip, brown/reddish bands around the neck and body.

Parallels: UN.T4-type: Q3 1st c. AD - Q1 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia);

Date: Early 2nd c. AD (Bilgin, pers. com.);

Literature: Simsek 2011: Pl. 70;

Tomb: T163d Inv: 875



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 372 50 5

Height/length: 26,2 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 5 / 3,2 cm

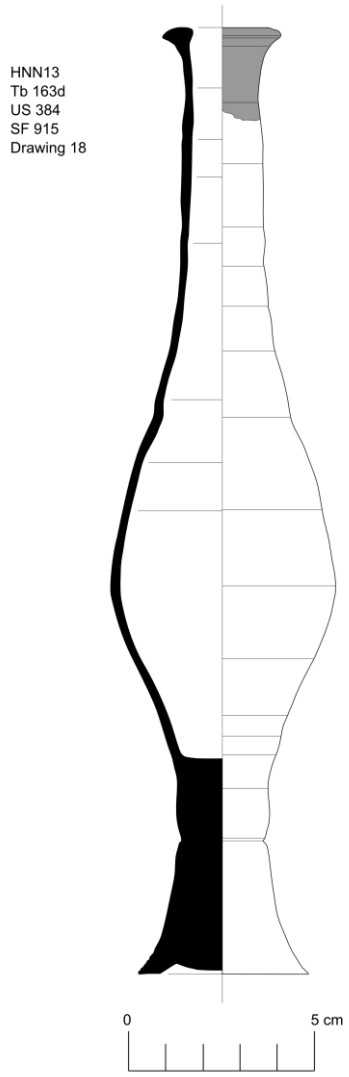
Description: Fusiform unguentarium with slightly convex neck and outturned lip. Conical foot offset from the body by a step (cf. Laodikeia UN.T5a).

Parallels: UN.T5a: Q3 1st c. BC - Q1 1st c. AD (Laodikeia);

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011:710, Table 71;

Tomb: T163d **Inv: 915**



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo:*

Fusiform Unguentarium

Find no:

Context: 384 45 6

Height/length: 25,5 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 6,3 / 5 / 3,2 cm

Description: Fusiform unguentarium with straight neck and outturned lip. Painted slip on the uppermost part of the neck and the rim.

Parallels: UN.T5c-type: Q1 1st c. - Q3 2nd c. (Laodikeia);

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011: Table 71-72; Lafli 2003:106-107, Tables 193-200

Tomb: T322 **Inv: HNE-SF12-10**

Photo: H. Indgjerd

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no: F2343

Context: G9

Height/length: 20,2 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 4 / 3,6 / 2 cm

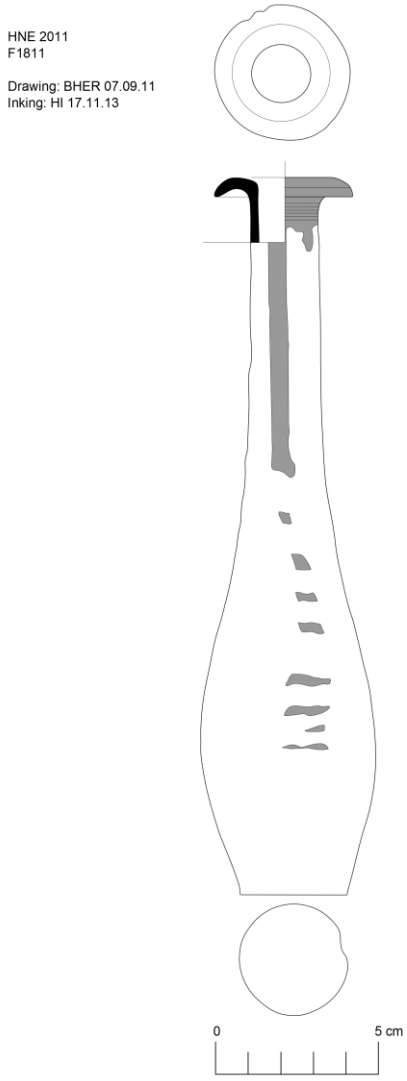
Description: Complete unguentarium broken in two parts. Flaring rim, outwards sloping brim, Long tubular neck, approx 7,5 cm from neck to body. Slender ovoid body with flattened pushed in base.

Parallels: Type UN.T3k (Laodikeia, cf. Cat. no. 49, 426, 573, 585)

Date: Second half of 2nd c. AD

Literature: Simsek 2011: Pl. 65-69; Selsvold forthcoming

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: HNE-SF11-12



Drawing: B.-H. Eketuft Rygh; Inking: H. Indgjerd

Photo:

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no: F1811

Context: B07:2:V

Height/length: 22 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 4,2 / 2,5 / 1,9 cm

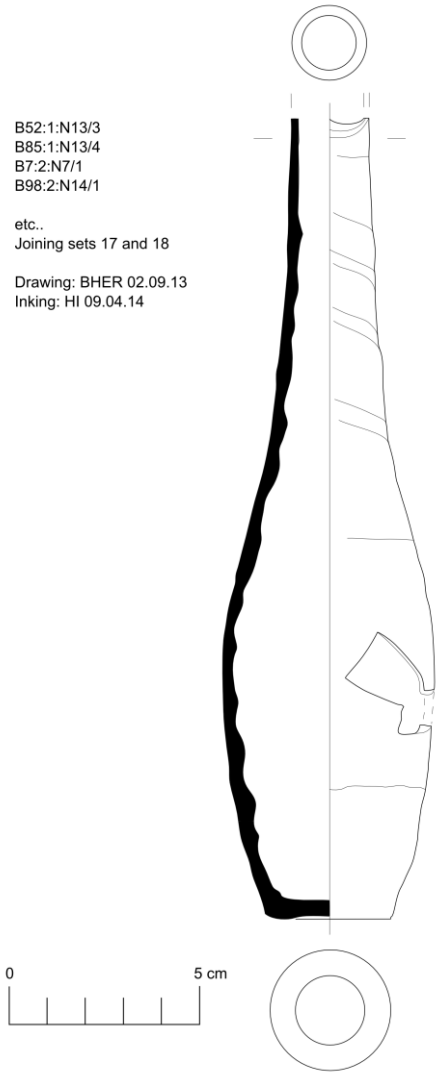
Description: Complete unguentarium, flat base, ovoid body, long and tubular neck, flaring rim, outwards and sloping brim.

Parallels: Type UN.T3k, cf. Cat. no. 49, 426, 573, 585: Q4 1st c. BC - Q3 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia)

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011; Karabay 1998: fig. 11.

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: B7:2:N7/1+B98:2:N14/1+B98:1+B



Drawing: B.-H. Eketuft Rygh; Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo: H. Indgjerd*

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no: F1879; F2234a; F2283; F2897

Context: B7:2:N7 :N14; B98:1; B7:3; B85:1:N13; N52:2

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 3 / 0 cm

Description: Complete neck section and start of body, ridges on the internal wall (joining set 18); Flat base, beginning of the body (joining set 17)

Parallels: Type UN.T3k, cf. Cat. no. 49, 426, 573, 585: Q4 1st c. BC - Q3 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia)

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011: Pl. 65-69

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: B99:1:E8/1+B99:2:E8/1+B68:2:N1

Photo: H. Indgjerd

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no: F2571; F2670

Context: B99:1:E ; B68:2:N10; B85:2

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 3 / 0 cm

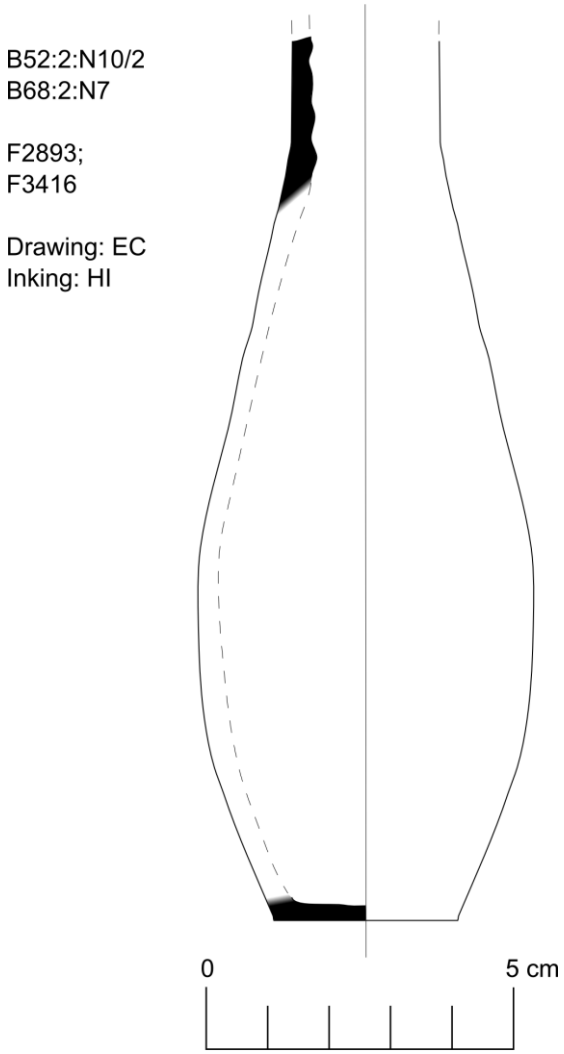
Description: Nearly complete base, body and lower neck of unguentarium.

Parallels: Type UN.T3k, cf. Cat. no. 49, 426, 573, 585: Q4 1st c. BC - Q3 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia)

Date: Second half of 1st c. AD - first half of 2nd c. AD. (Simsek 2011)

Literature: Simsek 2011

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: B52:2:N10/2+B68:2:N7



Drawing: E. Capelletto; Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo: H. Indgjerd*

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no: F2893; F3416

Context: B52:2:N 3 N7

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 3,4 / 0 cm

Description: Flat base, body and neck of unguentarium.

Parallels: Type UN.T3k: Q4 1st c. BC - Q3 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia)

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: HNE-SF 12-23

Photo: H. Indgjerd

Piriform Unguentarium

Find no: F3058

Context: B63:2:E

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 5 / 2,2 cm

Description: Complete, except some flakes from the lip/rim. Flaring rim and rounded lip, long cylindric neck, approx 9 cm from lip to body. Triangular body. Flattened, sligthly pushed in base. "Candlestick"-type, cf. glass shapes.

Parallels: Samothrace II XS-197: Q4 1st c. AD, but with larger body; Izmir Museum no. 116 & 118: Q4 1st c. AD - Q1 2nd c. AD; Parion no. 189: Q4 1st c. AD - Q1 2nd c. AD;

Date:

Literature: Samothrace II: 800-801; Aydın Tavukçu 2006:117-118, 257; Tuluk 1999:138-139

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: B85:1:N12/1+B52:2:N10/1+B68:2

Photo: H. Indgjerd

Ovoid Unguentarium

Find no: F3061; F3104; F3121; F3222; F3233

Context: B52:2:N W12; B68:2:N8; B85:1:N12; B85:2:W6

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 3 cm

Description: Part one: Rim with wide, slightly downturned brim and pointed lip. Complete neck section. Traces of inside slip around the rim. Part two: Flat base, body and beginning of neck.

Parallels: Type UN.T3k, cf. Cat. no. 49, 426, 573, 585: Q4 1st c. BC - Q3 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia)

Date:

Literature: Simsek 2011:Pl. 65-69

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: HNE-SF10-4

Photo:

oeschcke VIII Lamp

Find no: F556

Context: B63:1:C

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 3,5 / 0 cm

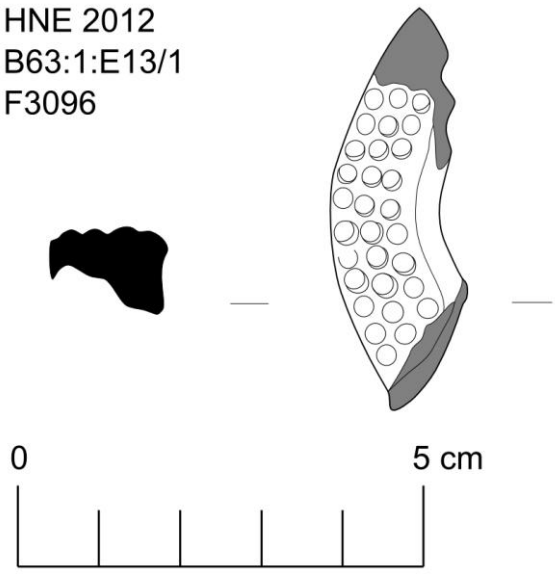
Description: Complete lamp with ring handle, plain shoulder and undersides, concave discus with plastic dec., burn marks on nozzle, round air vent. Discus decoration unclear, but possible bird-on-bough. Loeschcke type VIII, nozzleform R, soulderform VIIIb (?); Broneer type XXV

Parallels: KA.T9a-c: Q3 1st c. AD - Q4 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia);
Type O (or P or Q): Q3 1st c. AD - Q2 3rd c. (BMC Lamps II);
Loeschcke VIII in Ephesus: Flavian - Antonine (BMC Lamps III);

Date: Last quarter of 1st c. AD - end of 2nd c.

Literature: Simsek 2011:pl 83-85; BMC Lamps III: 369-371;

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: B63:1:E13/1; B75:1:C7/28+24



Drawing: NN. Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo: H. Indgjerd*

Lamp

Find no: F791; F3096

Context: B63:1; I

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

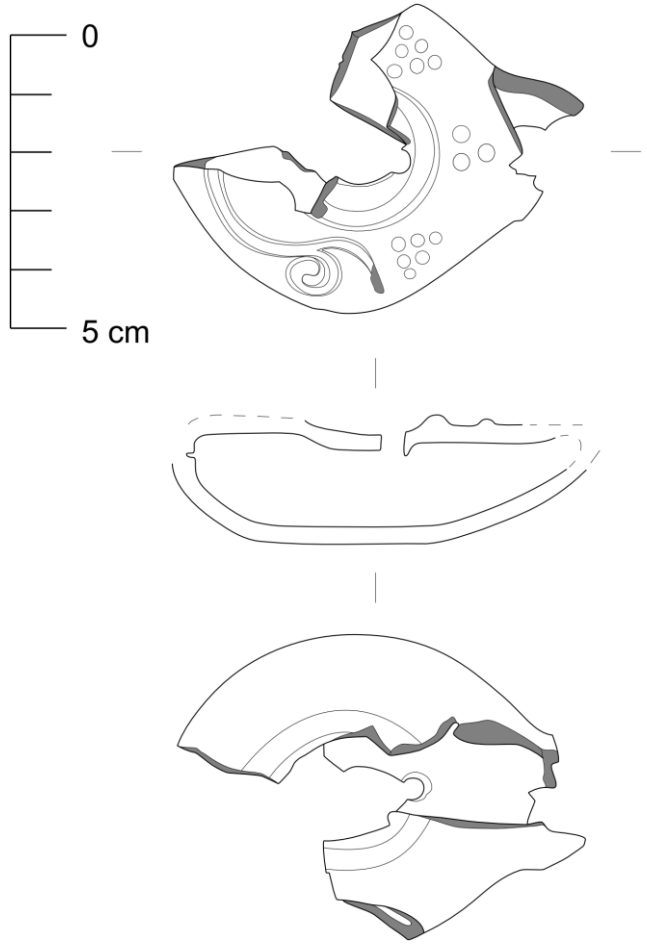
Description: Decorated shoulder, part of a ring handle, almost flat base. Three rows of raised globules on the shoulder (Warzenlampe) and decoration on the base.

Parallels: Laodikeia KA.T9e: Q2 4th c. - Q4 5th c. AD (Simsek 2011);
Type Q-x or R: Severan - Early 5th c. (BMC Lamps II);
Pergamon Group 8c: Q3 1st c. AD - Q2 2nd c. (Heimerl 2001);
Pergamon nos. 440-441: Q3 1st c. AD - Q2 2nd c. (Heimerl 2001)

Date: Uncertain - Second half of 1st c. AD - end of 5th c. AD

Literature: Simsek 2011; BMC Lamps II: 375-380; Heimerl 2001: 54-55, 134;

Tomb: T42/C92 Inv: B85:2:N17/1+B7:2:N17/1+B68:2:



Drawing: B.-H. Eketuft Rygh; Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo: H. Indgjerd*

Lamp

Find no: F974; F1932; F2288; F2971; F3015; F3080; F3149; F3456

Context: B85:2:N 3 17; B68:2:C5; B52:2:N8; B98:1:N13; B5

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 3 / 0 cm

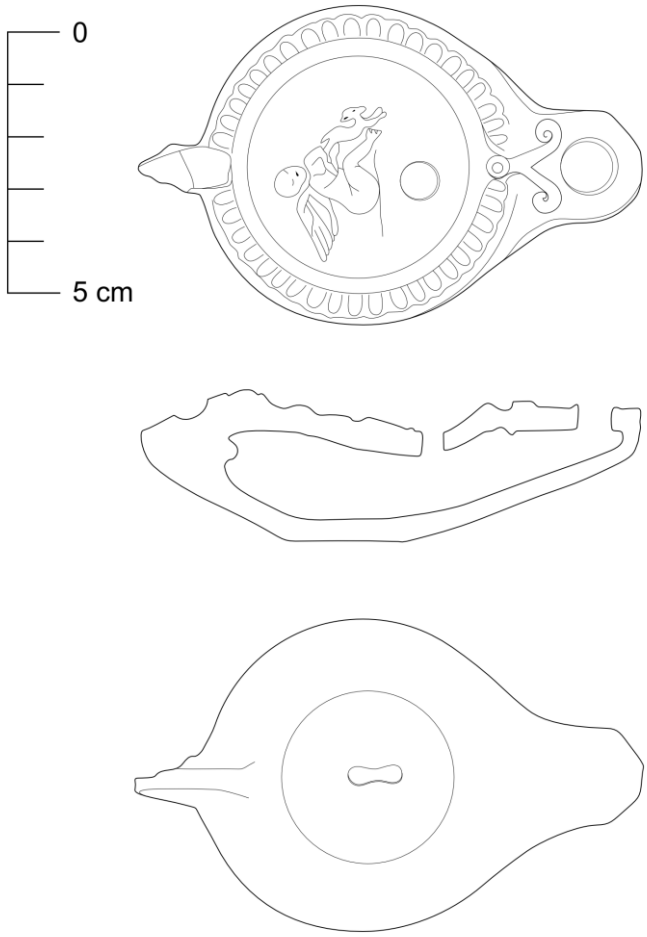
Description: Fragments of discus, most of shoulder, parts of the underside and base. Discus marked by a ridge. Small air-hole right inside this. Decorated shoulder: Floral decoration (tendrils) and dots (berries/grapes) in triangular pattern on the shoulder and on nozzle top. Low ring-base; two parallell incised lines from base towards side of nozzle.

Parallels: Shape and dec:
KA.T14g: 2nd half of 4th c. - 1st quarter of 7th c. (Laodikeia);
Shoulder dec:
Q3161 (Ephesus): 6th c. (BMC Lamps III)

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. - 1st quarter of 7th c.

Literature: Simsek 2011; BMC Lamps III

Tomb: T51/C91 Inv: HNE-SF13-6



Drawing: B.-H. Eketuft Rygh; Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo: H. Indgjerd*

Loeschcke V Lamp

Find no: F4033

Context: B93:3:V

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

Description: Loeschcke Type V lamp with part of ring handle missing, otherwise complete. On the shoulder impressed ovules. Filling and air holes, plain undersides, and flat base. Simplified, single-ended volutes extending from shoulders into a long, rounded nozzle. Clear sooth marks.

Decorated discus (4 cm) showing a seated eros facing right, playing with hare.

Parallels: Shape:
Type C(i): Late Claudian - Trajanic (BMC Lamps II);
Pergamon Group 8a: Q3 1st c. AD - Q2 2nd c. (Heimerl 2001);
Athens nos. 114-117, 158: Q3 1st c. AD - Q2 2nd c. (Perlzweig 1961);
Discus:

Date: Last half of 1st c. AD - first half of 2nd c.

Literature: BMC Lamps II:184-186; BMC Lamps III:158; Perlzweig 1961; Heimerl 2001:54

Tomb: T51/C91 Inv: HNE-SF13-7

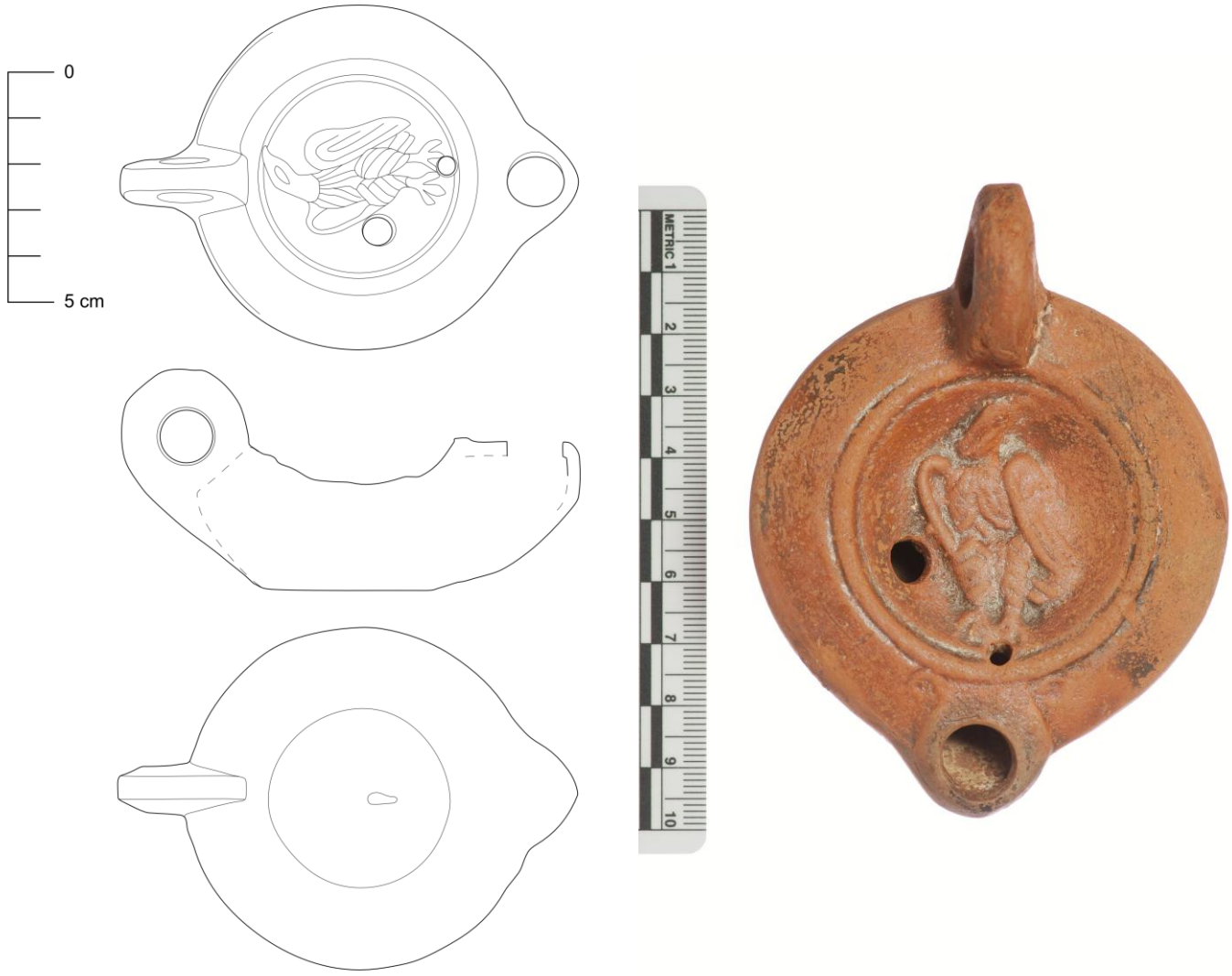


Photo: H. Indgjerd

oeschcke VIII Lamp

Find no: F4036

Context: B93:3:V

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 0 / 0 cm

Description: Complete lamp with rounded nozzle, concave discus decorated with an eagle, filling hole and air hole, wide, rounded plain shoulder, ring handle, slightly raised base.

Discus decorated with a frontal eagle with wings slightly spread and head right.

Form: Loeschcke VIII; shoulder VIII (?); nozzle K.

Parallels: Shape:
Type O(v): Flavian - early Trajanic (BMC Lamps II);
Discus:
e.g. Q1030, Q1275: Q4 1st c. AD - Q2 2nd c. (BMC Lamps II)

Date: Last quarter of 1st c. AD - first half of 2nd c.

Literature: BMC Lamps II:80-81, 303-304;

Tomb: T51/C91 Inv: B93:3:W7/2

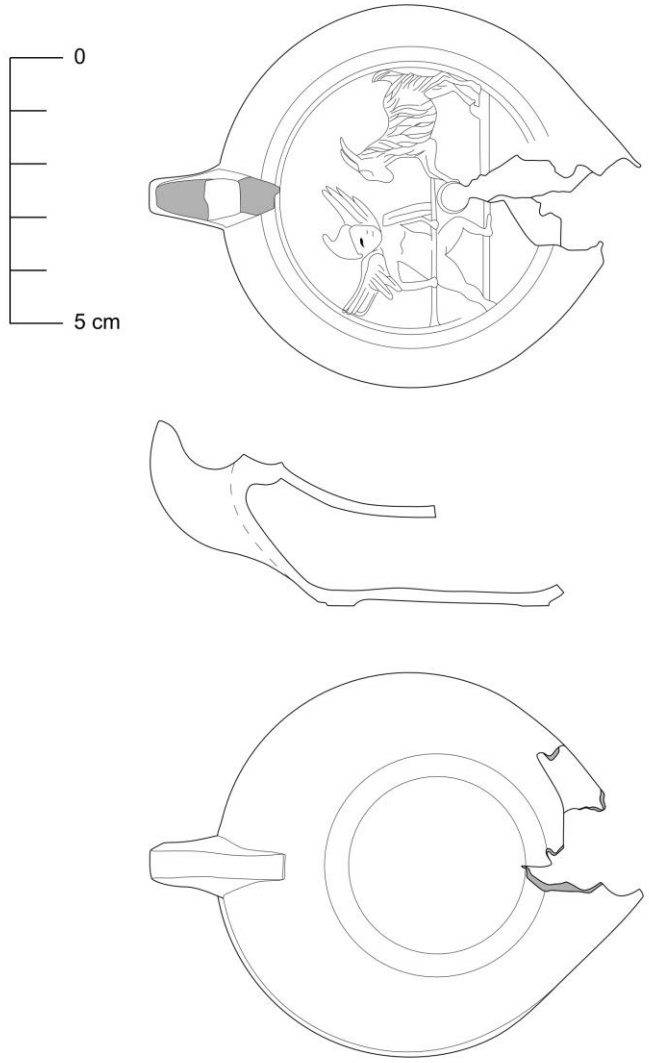


Photo: H. Indgjerd

oeschcke VIII Lamp

Find no: F4053

Context: B93:3:W

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 4 / 0 cm

Description: Part of the ring handle, wide, undecorated shoulder, part of the filling hole, wide base-ring.

Large, circular discus (5,5 cm) showing a man with winged Phrygian cap/helmet holding a spear against a goat.

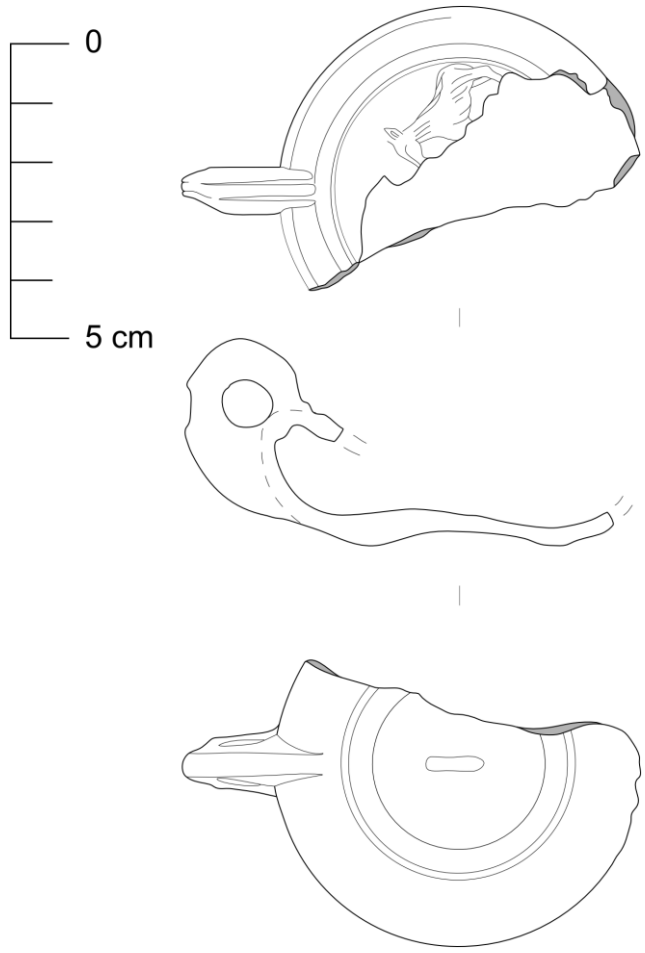
Parallels: KA.T9a-c: Q3 1st c. AD - Q4 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia);
Type O (or P or Q): Q3 1st c. AD - Q2 3rd c. AD (BMC Lamps II);
Loeschcke VIII in Ephesus: Flavian - Antonine (BMC Lamps III);

No parallel found for discus decoration

Date: Last half of 1st c. AD - end of 2nd c.

Literature: BMC Lamps II:292-294, 314-315, 336-337

Tomb: T51/C91 Inv: B93:3:W7/3



Drawing: B.-H. Eketuft Rygh; Inking: H. Indgjerd *Photo: H. Indgjerd*

oeschcke VIII Lamp

Find no: F4054

Context: B93:3:W

Height/length: 0 cm Diam./Base/Rim: 0 / 3,5 / 0 cm

Description: Ring handle with two grooves, plain shoulder and undersides, beginning of decorated discus, slighlty raised ringbase, planta pedis.

Only a small section of the discus is preserved (note also deteriation between drawing and photo!), but it have featured a sheep or goat standing on the right side facing left. Cf. iconography of F4053.

Parallels: KA.T9a-c: Q3 1st c. AD - Q4 2nd c. AD (Laodikeia);
Type O (or P or Q): Q3 1st c. AD - Q2 3rd c. (BMC Lamps II);
Loeschcke VIII in Ephesus: Flavian - Antonine (BMC Lamps III);

Date: Last half of 1st c. AD - end of 2nd c.

Literature: BMC Lamps II:292-294, 314-315, 336-337)